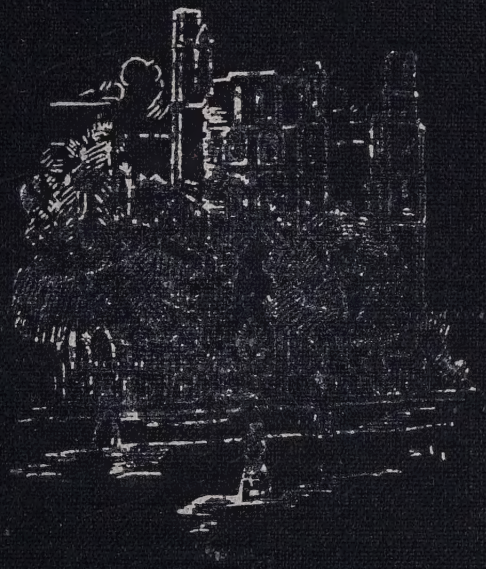
ULL THE CAT;
OR, WHO DESTROYED THE SCOTTISH ABBEYS?



To Rev. Alexander Jeffrey,
and Mrs Jeffrey,
with best wishes and compliments.
From John Jamieson.

Stirling, November, 1902.

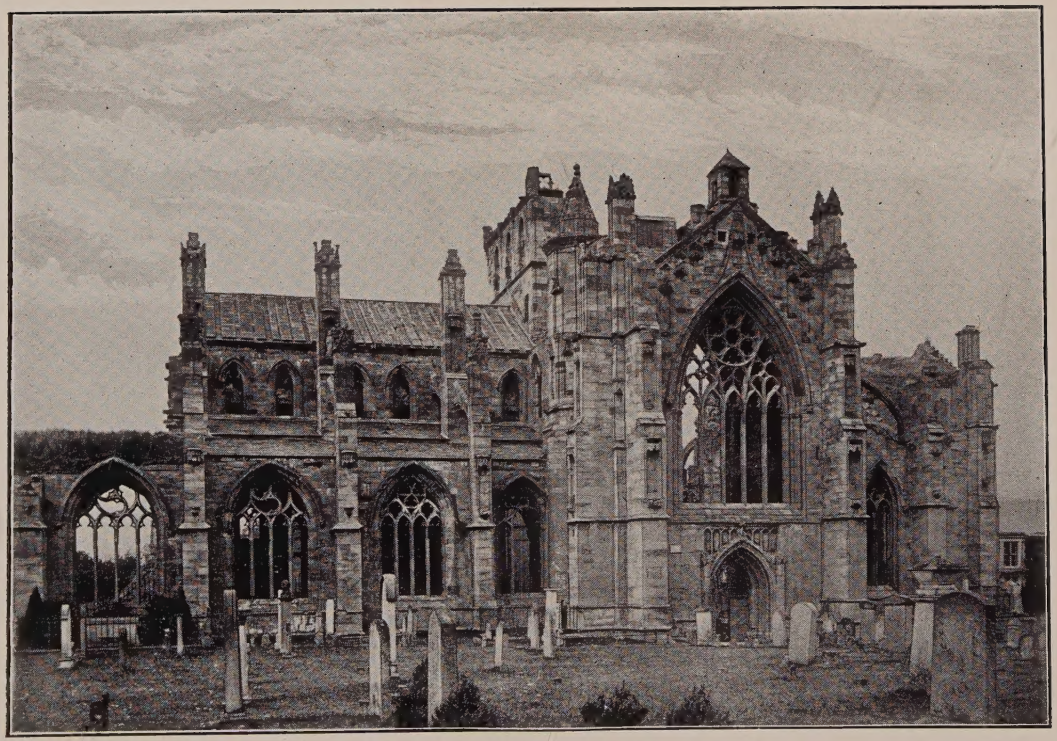


Photo. by] MELROSE ABBEY. *[A. C. Burge.*

C and J Baird

BELL THE CAT;

Or,

WHO DESTROYED THE SCOTTISH ABBEYS?

ILLUSTRATED.

BY

JOHN JAMIESON.

"If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright,
Go, visit it by pale moonlight;
. . . . . .
Spreading herbs, and flowerets bright,
Glistened with the dew of night;
Nor herb nor floweret glistened there
But was carved in the cloister arches as fair."

SCOTT.

STIRLING:
ENEAS MACKAY, MURRAY PLACE.
1902.

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PREFACE.

THE patriotic and determined struggles of the people of Scotland to obtain, and to hold, civil independence and religious freedom are themes which never fail from lack of interest; but while those of Wallace and Bruce are invariably narrated with sympathy, and in glowing colours, by our historians, the struggles pertaining to the period between the Reformation and the Revolution are treated in such a way as to show that some of the ablest of them have little if any sympathy with the religion of the country. There is another class of writers who devote their attention almost exclusively to the abbeys of Scotland, and for the beautiful drawings of these and other ecclesiastical buildings all are much indebted to them; but, like the historians above alluded to, not having any great sympathy with Presbytery, in their efforts to write the history of these houses they mix up what portion of truth there may be in their stories with a great deal of fiction.

The belief that there is sufficient interest taken in these matters in Scotland to obtain a hearing for the expression of an opinion

opposed to those of many historians and not a few architects—the opinion that the Reformers have been harshly and unjustly dealt with by these writers when touching upon the destruction of the religious houses—and that an effort to get at the truth will not be misunderstood, is the excuse of the writer for presuming to enter the lists against the literary giants of Scottish history.

We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to a number of gentlemen for permission to use their photographs in illustrating the volume.

INTRODUCTION.

IT not infrequently happens, when natives foregather, that the ruined abbeys of Scotland are discussed by those who take an interest in them, either from an architectural, antiquarian, or ecclesiastical point of view. When that occurs there are sure to be heard expressions of regret at the wanton devastation committed at the Reformation; and if a church or cathedral is mentioned which, by good fortune, was not reduced to a skeleton, it is referred to as one of the few specimens or examples of Norman or Gothic architecture which escaped the ravages of the over-zealous Reformers, and especially of John Knox. So frequently have we heard such assertions made, or come across them in print, that we have often wished, "for Auld Scotland's sake" and "the wee drap o' bluid," as well as for the noble band of Reformers to whom she gave birth, and to whom Scotsmen owe so much, to do a little to disabuse the public mind of such misconceptions.

It is not intended to write the story of the Scottish Abbeys—that has been done already by more than one author: rather the

intention is to find out who destroyed them—but that we may be the better understood it is necessary to deal, however imperfectly, with odd portions of their history, and that will be done in the text. Neither is it intended to write even the fringe of Scottish story, but some interesting bits are introduced in the course of the investigation.

As it was not necessary for our purpose to introduce all the demolished, dilapidated, or preserved cathedrals and kirks, we had to make a selection. That selection may not be satisfactory to many people. They may say that there are those in which might well have been left out, and others out which might well have been put in. That is so. But as a selection had to be made, and we could not hope to please everyone, we made a selection to please ourselves. And having done so, whatever other objections may be raised, we think we have at least gathered together as many instances or cases as should satisfy any one having an open mind that the Reformers were not the destroyers of the Abbeys and Cathedrals of Scotland.

As it was also unnecessary for our purpose to enlarge upon the various styles grouped together which go to make up a Scotch ecclesiastical structure, or to describe minutely

the exterior and interior of the buildings mentioned in the text, we have dealt briefly with these subjects when entered on. With regard to the terms used, we have endeavoured to avoid most of those in common use, because Sir Henry E. L. Dryden says they are not applicable to Scotland. Such terms as "Early English," "Geometric," "Decorated," "Perpendicular," &c., are, he holds, quite unsuited to that which is "Scotch or Norse, Plain, and Curvilinear," such as we have in Scotland. Sir Henry further says that "1st, 2nd, and 3rd, Pointed," are not applicable to styles which retained abundant use of the semi-circular arch throughout. Still, these terms are so ingrained in our vocabulary that there is no getting away from them. Further, it may be necessary to state that there appear to have been four, if not five, more or less distinct periods in Scottish ecclesiastical architecture,—all except the first, which was pure Norman, being compositions of a mixed character, having the semi-circular arch for ornament, and the pointed arch for construction, with other things considered out of place in a pure composition. The broad fact stands out that the Composite order or style is the one, from King David I. downwards, which has been universally adopted in Scotland.

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Photo. by] ROSLIN ABBEY. *[A. C. Burge.*

BELL THE CAT;

Or,

WHO DESTROYED THE SCOTTISH ABBEYS?

CHAPTER I.

THE TRADUCERS OF THE REFORMERS.

THE spider weaves his web to catch flies that he may live. The traducers of the Reformers weave their falsehoods to entrap the unwary—Scot or foreigner. Both are very successful — the spider and the detractor: the one in devouring the body of the insect, the other in warping the judgments of men. The careless fly and the confiding man are the victims of a cold, calculating, and heartless, but acuter intelligence. All the more necessary, therefore, that it should be exposed. But first let us hear what the charges which are so persistently made against the Scottish Reformers are, that we may better understand the question at issue; and then endeavour to show, by the introduction of a number of particular cases, how erroneous are the conclusions arrived at by

the gentlemen whose opinions have thrown a glamour over both speakers and writers.

The first traducer we will take is Archbishop John Spotswood, who, after having dilated somewhat on the methods, and informed us of the arts, adopted by Knox to "inflame" the minds of the people, says:—"Whereupon ensued a pitiful devastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm, for every one made bold to put to their hands; the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater, and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground; the holy vessels, and whatever men could gain off, were put to sale; even the sepulchres of the dead were not spared; in a word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first ruins did now undergo the common calamity."* This passage, as may be surmised, has been quoted *ad libitum*, with, of course, the customary denunciations, according to the bias or ignorance of the copyist. But while not altogether due to the author's imagination, nor perhaps to his Episcopalian prejudices, it bears on the face of it a good deal of both. Indeed, Spotswood's assertions are in direct contradiction to Knox's acts; for, instead of "inflaming" the minds of the people to demolish the "churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm," and to sell the "holy vessels," he did the very reverse, being most assiduous in their preservation, and doing his utmost to save them.

The second traducer is Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler,

* *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, lib. iv., p. 310.

who, much as he is respected as a historian, cannot altogether be acquitted of bias when dealing with the Reformers. After referring to "the new and noble style of ecclesiastical architecture" introduced into Scotland about the beginning of the twelfth century, he continues:—"It is subject of deep regret that some of the strong-minded and strong-handed spirits, who afterwards acted a principal part in the Reformation, adopted the erroneous idea that these noble edifices were inconsistent with the purity of the worship which they professed; and that they permitted, or, as some authors have asserted, encouraged the populace to destroy them."* As may easily be seen, these sentiments of Mr. Tytler are merely those of Spotswood, echoes reverberating in the distance.

The third traducer is the Rev. Stephen Keenan, who, where he refers to the penal laws enacted against Popery by the British Government in self-defence, asks:—"What have we [Catholics] suffered by some of these laws?" Answering his own question, he says:—"The loss of our estates, which were transferred to others; the transfer of our churches to government preachers, or, as in Scotland, the absolute destruction of these churches; our church lands, the patrimony of the poor, given to the corrupt minions of unprincipled governments."† Mr. Keenan also re-echoes Spotswood; there is no difference between his "absolute destruction of the churches" and Spotswood's assertion that "all the churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground."

* *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 308. New edition, 1872.
† *Controversial Catechism*, chap. 1.

Thus the lie once set a-rolling is difficult to catch, or even to overtake. It is the lying spirit of the ancient *religious* hid within the artificial serpent in the Garden of Eden—the priest and worshipper of the Serpent and of Fire—a deceiver ever, and of whom the modern Catholic priest is the successor. The disc of the sun still holds its place above the altar in a Roman Catholic church, as it did in the ancient temples of the Pagans. It will be our task to try to overtake the lie by tracing the various acts of vandalism laid at the door of the Reformers, and endeavouring to fix them upon the proper shoulders. We shall see who it was that committed the "pitiful devastation," who were the parties guilty of "the absolute destruction of the churches in Scotland," and who removed the "holy vessels for gain." We have just said that a lie, once set a-rolling, is difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, to overtake. It is true; but there are exceptions, and we hope to be able to nail this three centuries old one to the counter.

CHAPTER II.

THE PAPAL BULL DEALING WITH DUNBLANE CATHEDRAL.

THE utter falsity of the charge, as against the Scottish Reformers, of destroying the churches, will be at once apparent from the bull issued by Pope Gregory IX., in 1238, at the instance of Clement, Bishop of Dunblane. The bishop had made a pilgrimage to Rome, explained to the pope the impecuniosity of the see, and the dilapidated state into which the sacred edifice had fallen. The bull was addressed to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and the following is a literal translation:—

"To all the faithful of Christ about to see or hear this writing,—

"William and Alfred, by the grace of God, bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, eternal salvation in the Lord; we have received the mandate of our master the pope, in these words:

"Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brothers, the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, health and apostolic benediction: Our venerable brother, the Bishop of Dunblane, hath, in our presence, represented that, seeing the church of Dunblane had in time past been vacant for a hundred years and more, almost all its goods had been seized by secular persons; and although in process of time many bishops had been appointed in it, yet, through their simplicity

and inattention, not only had the goods thus seized upon not been recalled, but also the remainder, which had escaped the hands of the occupants, was almost all alienated and consumed, on which account no fit person could be induced to take the charge, and the church had meanwhile been destitute of the comfort of a pastor nearly a hundred years:

"And whereas, after a while, we, being informed of its miserable state, have judged fit that its interests be committed to our venerable brothers the bishops of Saint Andrew and Brechin, and you, the same bishops, hoping that the said church might, by the said bishop, recover from the lake of misery, have appointed him to this church; so the foresaid hath found it so far gone into disrepair that it cannot be espied where he might lean his head in the cathedral church. Nor is there a chapter-house; but in the church open above a rural chaplain performs divine service. The revenues, moreover, of the bishop are so slender and mean that scarcely can he support himself out of them half the year:

"But, seeing our daily concern is a constant care of all the churches, we command your fraternity, by apostolical writings, to the end that, personally resorting to the same church, if you should find that such is the case, ye shall cause a fourth part of all the teinds of the parochial churches of the diocese of Dunblane to be assigned to the foresaid bishop, if that can be done without great offence, so that, with your advice and that of good men, he may assign what is reserved to him out of the bishopric for his support, in a suitable proportion, to the dean and canons, whom we will and enjoin to be there appointed by you:

"Otherwise, ye shall transfer the fourth part of the

teinds (of the churches to wit of the same diocese) assigned to the bishop but detained by secular persons, and the episcopal see, to the monastery of St. John of Canons Regular of the foresaid diocese: power being given, in future, to the canons to choose bishops when that church shall have become vacant, and to check, by ecclesiastical law, gainsayers and rebels, if there should be any such, without appeal.

"Given at Vitervi, on the 3rd of the Ides of June, in the eleventh year of our pontificate."*

The above document shows (1) that the "cathedral church" of Dunblane was in a most ruinous condition three hundred and twenty-one years before the Scottish Reformers could possibly lay a finger upon the cathedral, and for how long before that no one knows. The bishop had no place "where he might lean his head in the cathedral church;" there was no chapter-house; and the only serviceable place, "open above," was probably the middle portion of the present tower. It also proves (2) that the revenues were withheld by "secular persons" refusing to pay teinds, or appropriated by the bishops, as occurred at the Reformation. Further, it reveals (3) that, the church lands being "alienated and consumed," no fit person could be induced to enter into such a "lake of misery," and the bishopric remained vacant for one hundred years—all this notwithstanding that, in the usual canting phraseology of a Papal bull, the pope's "daily concern is a constant care of all the churches!"

* See *Priory of Inchmahome*, pp. 113, 114, for the Latin; and Bishop Keith's Preface to *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, x., xi., for an account of it; also Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire*, vol. ii., note N.

It is only fair to add, however, that the *centum* in the Inchmahome and other copies is *decem* in the Chartulary of Cambuskenneth. It is hardly possible that so much devastation and robbery as is revealed in the bull would be done in ten years; but whether vacant one hundred years or ten years the principle is the same, and is not consistent with the pope's boast, even after allowing for the difficulty of communication between Rome and Scotland.

Attention may be directed to the word "rebels" in the above bull. It does not refer to rebels in rebellion against the sovereign of the realm, as one is apt to suppose; but to rebels against the supremacy of the pope! Heresy is the battle-cry, but the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff over all constituted civil and ecclesiastical authority in the kingdom is the real object. The term "rebels" is the key to unlock the mystery how a so-called Christian Church could shed the blood of millions of human beings for searching the Scriptures, a duty enjoined on all by its Founder. And observe that power is given to the canons "to check, by ecclesiastical law, gainsayers and rebels, if there be any such, without appeal!"

Pope Gregory's bull clearly proves that Catholics could and did "demolish" one church, that church being the cathedral church of Dunblane; and if they could demolish one church, they could destroy a dozen. And that is just what they did. So effectually did they do their fell work, that there were few, if any, undamaged ecclesiastical buildings left to demolish at the Reformation. The destruction of the churches, cathedrals, monasteries, and nunneries was not the work of the Reformers; with a few exceptions, it was the work

Photo. by] DUNBLANE CATHEDRAL (BEFORE RESTORATION). *[Crowe & Rodgers, Stirling.*

of the Catholics themselves. That this is so, Pope Gregory's bull forms part of our evidence, because it is a document which no Catholic can gainsay; and Scottish history affords the other part, for, so far as it relates to the demolition of the sacred buildings, and the alienation of church property, it is only the same bull written large.

CHAPTER III.

DESTRUCTIVE ENGLISH INVASIONS OF SCOTLAND.

EDWARD I. of England, during his invasion of Scotland in 1303-4, despoiled the cathedral kirk of St. Andrews, and also the refectory, of their leaden roofs, to batter down Stirling Castle; and every one knows what that means. He also stripped the lead from the roofs of all the kirks between Stirling and Perth, including Dunblane. Cambuskenneth Abbey suffered badly at his hands. On two different occasions he compelled the monks to pay "kane," and latterly, after ruthlessly pillaging the abbey, set it on fire. It again suffered violence at the hands of an English king, as will be noticed presently. Other monasteries shared the same fate as Cambuskenneth, among them being Dunfermline, which was burned by Edward's orders. He did not touch the nunnery and church at Haddington, because the Abbess Alicia and the Abbess Eva did homage to him in 1292 and 1296 respectively. This merciless monarch laid waste dozens of such edifices all over Scotland, those in the Lowlands, in particular, being reduced to empty shells. Yet he was a good Catholic, for he was continually handing over to the priests six or seven shillings for his victories over the Scots; and if they paid homage to him as their Lord Superior, he would allow them to remain in possession of their lands; if

they would not, he burned down their convents and kirks! The buildings were in a deplorable state of dilapidation when the War of Independence came to an end.

Edward II., in his invasion in 1322, plundered and greatly damaged the Abbey of Holyrood; but the solid masonry of St. Giles resisted his efforts to destroy it. Compelled to retreat, he first despoiled, then wrecked the Monastery of Melrose. This abbey, a seat of wealth and learning, and a treasure-house of rare and costly works of art, was spared by Edward I., its abbot doing him homage; but his son robbed the high altar of its "holy vessels" of gold and silver, seized or destroyed the images, cast out the consecrated host, and murdered the prior and several old monks who were either unable, or had refused, to go away. Turning his attention to Dryburgh Abbey*, he set the refectory on fire. This abbey, like Melrose, had been saved by its abbot swearing fealty to Edward I., but now it lay half in ruins. Thus were the churches "defaced" and the abbeys ruined, the "holy vessels lifted for gain," and even monks murdered. Yet Edward was a good Catholic, and was in regular correspondence with Pope John XXII.

Towards the restoration—it would be nearer the

* A rather remarkable event occurred in the history of Dryburgh Abbey in 1255. In that year it was declared bankrupt, and a Commission of Inquiry appointed by the pope. "The creditors were in London, Glasgow, and St. Andrews, and divers compositions paid to them are blamed for ruining the monastery. The Commission is authorised to take full charge of all rentals, to allow the monks a sufficient maintenance, to pay the creditors with the residue, and to impose a salutary penance upon the debtors."

truth to say rebuilding—of Melrose Abbey, King Robert Bruce, in 1326, gave £2000 sterling (equal to about £30,000 of current coin) to its abbot, and at or about the same time he made a large grant of money for the restoration of the Abbey of Dryburgh. Bruce granted large sums of money to rebuild and repair the wasted religious houses of Scotland; yet he takes his place among her kings whom presumptuous priests had the audacity to excommunicate.

After several more years of fierce and barbarous strife, and with an exhausted treasury, Edward had to accept the inevitable. Robert Bruce was acknowledged King of Scotland by the English Parliament at York on 1st March, 1327-8. By the Treaty of Northampton, entered into on 4th May, 1328, the independence of Scotland was fully recognised, and the King of England declared, for himself and his heirs, that "the kingdom of Scotland shall remain for ever to the great prince, Lord Robert, by the grace of God, illustrious King of Scotland, and to his heirs and successors." Notwithstanding this treaty, to which England, present and future, was solemnly committed, the English still continued to covet Scotland, to the incalculable injury of both nations.

Edward III., between 1333 and 1356, repeatedly, to gratify his ambition, laid Scotland waste, demolishing religious houses, and razing the churches to the ground, in the North and South. He robbed Cambuskenneth Abbey, after it had been repaired and refurnished, of all its valuable plenishing, vestments, ornaments, "holy vessels," and MSS. At the end of the year 1355, he plundered the monastery at Haddington of all its valuables. He also burned the abbey church and

Photo. by] DRYBURGH ABBEY. [*A. C. Burge.*

the Cistercian nunnery (the latter a building which, as already stated, had been spared by Edward I.), with the town itself, all of which he "absolutely destroyed." Fordun, in chronicling this "devastation," says that Edward "burned the town, the monastery, and the sacred church of the Fratres Minores of Haddington, a costly and splendid building of wonderful beauty, whose choir, from its elegance and clearness of light, was commonly called the Lamp of Lothian, or Friars Kirk."

Richard II. was still more relentless, if that were possible, than his predecessors on the throne of England, in his invasions of Scotland. In the reign of this monarch, the convent of Inchcolm (which had been sacked by the fleet of Edward III.) was again plundered by John of Gaunt, the king's uncle, in his ruthless invasion of Scotland in 1384. Inchcolm, it is almost needless to say, was a wealthy monastery, having great possessions. The last commendator was Lord Doune, and he kept a grip of the estates; they are now the property of the earls of Moray, his successors in the barony of Aberdour, but they have utterly neglected the abbey. Allowing for this, and also the deteriorating effects of the weather, the convent is, although in a dilapidated condition, fairly well preserved; indeed, it is in much the same state as when Gaunt left it one hundred and twenty years before the Reformation. Yet we are told by those who love every religion but their own, that "from its insular position it escaped the ruthless hands of zealous Reformers!"

In the following year King Richard himself invaded Scotland, at the head of an immense army. He encamped at Restalrig, near Edinburgh. He seized

the city, occupied it for five days, and burned it to ashes. St. Giles was again set on fire, but the repaired Abbey of Holyrood, at the earnest entreaty of Gaunt (who had found refuge there in the days of his adversity), was exempted from the general conflagration.* Forced to retire, he in revenge gave villages, towns, monasteries, and churches to the flames. Once more the beautiful abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Newbattle were plundered of their valuable plenishings, vestments, and "holy vessels," and then burned, Edinburgh, with her churches, and Stirling, with Cambuskenneth Abbey, sharing the same fate.† Richard spared no man bearing arms, nor did he respect any sacred or profane thing. To give only one instance of his ingratitude. He passed the night in Melrose Abbey, and next morning, as a parting gift for the monks' hospitality, set it on fire, in this following the example of Edward I., who did the same by Dunfermline.

The monasteries were all more or less wealthy, and were thus enabled to overcome, to a great extent, their misfortunes in a comparatively short period of time, but only to be again wantonly destroyed by the Southrons. If what Father Keenan says be true, that the doctrines of the Catholic Church are "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,"‡ it follows that these four English kings were Catholics, and that being so, the "absolute destruction" of the Scottish churches lies, as already mentioned, at the door of the Catholics themselves.

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* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. i, p. 179.
† PINKERTON'S *Scotland*, vol. i., p. 32.
‡ *Controversial Catechism*, chap. vii. sec. 6.

CHAPTER IV.

DECLARATION OF SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE.

WE did not choose to interrupt the narrative, and therefore did not give the Declaration of Scottish Independence. We give a portion of it now, not only because it is a document of great historic interest, but it is also an important part of our evidence, showing, as it does, who were the responsible parties for the destruction of the Abbeys. It is a document written by earnest Catholics to their "most holy father," the pope, and its authors clearly point to English Catholics as the wreckers. "The insults which this prince, Edward I., has heaped upon us," Tytler reads in the Declaration, "the slaughters and devastations which he has committed; his imprisonment of prelates, his burning of monasteries, his spoliation and murder of priests, and the other enormities of which he has been guilty, can be rightly described, or even conceived, by none but eye-witnesses."

It was Edward II. who was the more immediate cause of the famous Declaration of Scottish Independence being sent by the Scots Parliament to Pope John XXII. This was one of the very few celebrated Roman Pontiffs, for it is solemnly recorded that he "ordered the bells to be tolled every evening for the Angelus." It must come as a shock of surprise to many to be told that this musical pope intrigued for years

against the Northern Kingdom, and was most unfriendly towards Scotland, as was his predecessor, Clement V., whose legate in England, in February, 1306-7, at Carlisle, excommunicated Bruce and his adherents by book, bell, and candle. Pope John strongly supported the pretensions of the English king to the Scottish throne, and in doing so must be held as acquiescing in the wrecking of the churches and convents throughout the country, for it is impossible to suppose that he did not know the barbarous methods adopted by the Southern monarch in his mad efforts to subdue the Scots. Vanquished on the field of battle, Edward turned to his friend the pope, and was so successful in his efforts that the hidden but formidable power of Rome was thrown into the scales against Scotland, and, of course, against King Robert Bruce.

It would appear, notwithstanding that the Scottish monarchs were great church builders, and liberally endowed numerous abbeys out of the national property, that neither William nor the three Alexanders, nor Bruce himself, were recognised or "anointed" as kings of Scotland by the pope and his predecessors. The influence of England was all-powerful at the Papal Court; nevertheless King Robert sent ambassadors to Rome to enlighten the pontiff as to the real state of matters, and they appear to have convinced him of the invalidity of Edward's claim to be recognised as lord paramount in Scotland. But the pope who set the bells a-tolling every evening for the Angelus was a worldly-wise man, and, desirous to be on the winning side, he soon made it clear to the Scots that he regarded England as the stronger kingdom of the two. So he continued to back up Edward, and threaten Bruce.

The king was thus forced to fight not only England, but Rome also, and he did so with intrepidity, wisdom, and success. An emissary of the pope was refused admission to the kingdom, on the ground that his mission was to England, and he was told that England did not include Scotland. The priest fumed and threatened, but it was of no use; into the kingdom he was not permitted to enter. Then Pope John sent two nuncios to Scotland, and they landed at Aberbrothock, in 1317. They brought with them an edict, commanding that peace should be maintained between the warring powers for the space of two years, accompanied with the usual threat of excommunication to all and sundry were his orders not obeyed. The legates also brought letters addressed to "Robert Brus, governing in Scotland;" but the king refused to take them. He made his "sarcastical and resolute answer with a mild and pleasant countenance," says Lord Hailes. "There are many named Robert Bruce who share in the government of Scotland," he informed the Italians. "Those letters may be for some of them. They are not addressed to me, the King of Scotland. That is my title; under no other do I receive letters." The nuncios first tried apologies, and these failing to influence the king, they attempted to intimidate him by threats. The letters were returned unopened, and a respectful message was forwarded to the pontiff that no attention could be paid either to the enjoined truce or to the threat of excommunication until he addressed himself directly and correctly to the King of Scotland. The pope confessed that the message astounded him. Nevertheless, he again attempted, in the interests of England, to coerce the Bruce. Three years later he

sent another legate, commanding that Edward II. of England was to be recognised as lord paramount of Scotland, and if he was not, he again threatened excommunication against Bruce and the whole nation! He also summoned "the noble man, Robert de Brus, governing in the kingdom of Scotland" *(nobilem virum, Robertum de Brus, regnum Scotiæ gubernantem),* to appear with the prelates of Scotland at the Papal Court at Avignon. The king paid no heed to either the pope's threat or summons. Instead, he summoned the Estates of Scotland to meet at Aberbrothock on the 6th day of April, 1320.

It was during the sitting of this Parliament, under the presidency of the king himself, that the DECLARATION OF SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE was drawn up, and, with a letter, sent to Pope John. The effect of the spirited document was instantaneous, John Hill Burton describing the result as "astounding." To receive such a manuscript, written in better Latin than either he or his nuncios could show were it to save their lives, and from a "semi-barbarous" people, rather upset the wily Cohors pope. But he had the good sense to accept the inevitable, on the principle that what cannot be cured must be endured. His frequent and vexatious fulminations against King Robert and his people immediately ceased, and instead he set to work to convert the King of England to his new views! Writing to Edward, he said:—"Our earnest desires are for reconciliation and peace [?], and you well know that our bull, issued for attaining these objects, will never be received in Scotland, if we address it to Robert de Brus under any other appellation but that of King." Edward was enraged, furious; he sent an

angry letter to the pope, denouncing and condemning his bestowal of the title of king upon Robert Bruce.

This famous Declaration is, for heroic patriotism and style, one of the most remarkable State papers of mediæval times. Though a lay document, the Declaration is believed to be the work of Bernard de Linton, Abbot of Arbroath, and Chancellor of Scotland. He was present at the Battle of Bannockburn, and he and King Robert were close friends. "The dignity and terseness of the original Latin, the stately reverence and firm resolution expressed in the document, with the curious care of the literary artist, and the watchful restraint of the far-seeing man of affairs, all betray the hand of the scholar, poet, and statesman who sat at King Robert's right hand." "No translation," continues our anonymous author, "can convey fully the character of this famous Declaration; but the spirit of it is presented with admirable faithfulness in a free rendering first published at the time of the Revolution, in 1688." From this translation the following excerpt is taken. It is the essential part of the Declaration, that which follows on the short preamble about the antiquity of Scotland, in which, in opening their letter, the Scots, after presenting the names of the barons present, disposed of the fabulous genealogies recited by the English as carrying back the subjection of Scotland to the Trojan line of succession! There is a bit of extravagance in the first clause of the first sentence which follows, but let it pass:—

"Upon the weighty consideration of these things, our most holy fathers, your predecessors, did with many great and singular favours and privileges fence and secure this kingdom and people, as being the

peculiar charge and care of the brother of St. Peter; so that our nation hath hitherto lived in freedom and quietness under their protection, till the magnificent King Edward, father to the present King of England, did, under the colour of friendship and allyance, or confederacie, with innumerable oppressions, infest us, who minded no fraud or deceit, at a time when we were without a king or head, and when the people were unacquainted with warres and invasions. It is impossible for any whose own experience hath not informed him, to describe, or fully to understand the injuries, blood, and violence, the depredations and fire, the imprisonments of prelates, the burning, slaughter, and robberie committed upon holy persons and religious houses, and a vast number of other barbarities, which that king execute on this people without sparing of any sex or age, religion, or order of men whatsoever.

"But at length it pleased God, who only can heal after wounds, to restore us to libertie from these innumerable calamities, by our most serene Prince King and Lord Robert, who, for the delivering of his people and his own rightful inheritance from the enemies' hand, did, like another Joshua or Maccabeus, most chearfully undergo all manner of toyle, fatigue, hardship, and hazard. The Divine Providence, the right of succession by the laws and customs of the kingdom (which we will defend till death), and the due and lawfull consent and assent of all the people, made him our king and prince. To him we are oblidged and resolved to adhere in all things, both on account of his right and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people's safety, in defence of their liberties.

But after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavour to expell him as our enemy, and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make another king who will defend our liberties: for so long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never give consent to subject ourselves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life.

"For these reasons, most reverend father and lord, we do, with most earnest prayers, from our bended knees and hearts, beg and entreat your Holyness that you may be pleased, with a sincere and cordial piety, to consider that with Him whose vicar on earth you are there is no respect nor distinction of Jew nor Greek, Scots nor English, and that with a tender and fatherly eye you may look upon the calamities and straits brought upon us and the Church of God by the English; and that you may admonish and exhort the King of England (who may well rest satisfied with his own possessions, since that kingdom of old used to be sufficient for seven or more kings), to suffer us to live at peace in that narrow spot of Scotland, beyond which we have no habitation, since we desire nothing but our own, and we, on our part, as far as we are able, with respect to our own condition, shall effectually agree to him in everything that may procure our quiet.

"It is your concernment, most holy father, to interpose in this, when you see how far the violence and barbaritie of the pagans is let loose to rage against

Christendom for punishing of the sins of the Christians, and how much they dayly encroach upon the Christian territories. And it is your interest to notice, that there be no ground given for reflecting on your memory, if you should suffer any part of the Church to come under a scandal or eclipse (which we pray God may prevent) during your times.

"Let it therefore please your Holyness to exhort the Christian princes not to make the warres between them and their neighbours a pretext for not going to the relief of the Holy Land, since that is not the true cause of the impediment; the truer ground of it is that they have a much nearer prospect of advantage, and far less opposition, in the subduing of their weaker neighbours. And God (who is ignorant of nothing) knows with how much chearfulness both our king and we would go thither, if the King of England would leave us in peace, and we do hereby testifie and declare it to the Vicar of Christ, and to all Christendom.

"But if your Holyness shall be too credulous of the English misrepresentations, and not give firm credit to what we have said, nor desist to favour the English to our destruction, we must believe that the Most High will lay to your charge all the blood, loss of souls, and other calamities that shall follow on either hand betwixt us and them.

"Your Holyness, in granting our just desires, will oblidge us in every case, where our duty shall require it, to endeavour your satisfaction, as becomes the obedient sons of the Vicar of Christ.

"We commit the defence of our cause to Him who is the Soveraigne King and Judge; we cast the burden of our cares upon Him, and hope for such an issue as

may give strength and courage to us, and bring our enemies to nothing.

"The most high God long preserve your Serenity and Holyness to His Holy Church."

The names of the barons attached to the document are:—Duncan, Earl of Fife; Randolph, Earl of Moray; Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March; Malice, Earl of Strathearn; Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; William, Earl of Ross; Magnus, Earl of Caithness and Orkney; William, Earl of Sutherland; Walter, the Steward of Scotland; William de Soulis, Butler of Scotland; James, Lord of Douglas; Roger de Mowbray; David, Lord of Brechin; David de Graham; Ingleram d'Umfraville; John of Menteith, Custos of the Comitatus of Menteith; Alexander Fraser; Gilbert de Hay, Constable of Scotland; Robert de Keith, Marishal of Scotland; Henry de St. Clair, John de Graham, David de Lyndesay, William Oliphant, Patrick de Graham, John de Fendon, William de Abernethy, David de Wemyss, William de Montfitchet, Fergus de Ardrossan, Eustace de Maxwell, William de Ramsay, William de Monte Alto, Allan de Murray, Donald Campbell, John Cambroun, Reginald Cheyne, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de Lascelyne, Alexander de Straton.

It will be observed that the Declaration attributes to the pope much of Scotland's miseries and long-continued sufferings, because of his favouring the English, and points to grave responsibilities in the future should he continue to favour the pretensions of Edward. The document corroborates what we have ventured to say in the text. We also remarked that Pope John was a worldly-wise man. He was all that, and more. The

son of a decent French cobbler, from this humble position he gradually raised himself until he got perched on one of the highest pinnacles of earthly glory. His leading weakness was his "unconscientious venality," and had Bruce only sent a bag of gold instead of a letter his embassies would have been more successful. When he died, he left the enormous sum of three hundred millions of livres in his coffers. Some years before his death he issued a bull, in which he authorised the anointing of the king. This was all that was wanting, in that age, to satisfy Western Europe that the Scottish crown was not tributary but independent. The pope's edict came too late for the Bruce, but his successors on the throne, at their coronation, had the benefit of "unction," marred, however, by having to take an oath, required by the bull, to root out all heresies from their dominions. Pope John was condemned as a heretic by Benedict XII., and by Adrian VI. And Maimbourg, in his book, entitled *Prerogatives of the Church of Rome,* chap. xvi., clearly demonstrates that he was a genuine heretic. And yet he continued pope for seventeen years, from 1316 to 1334. The Catholics tell some wonderful stories about this pope and the Virgin Mary. They are to be found in Liguori's *Glories of Mary,* on pages 208 and 517 of the London edition, A.D. 1868. The book bears the approval of both the late cardinals Wiseman and Manning, and five, if not six, popes have also endorsed them, so that the tales must be true. Certain Catholics may deny their truth, but we fear they are in a fair way of being regarded as heretics. We may give one of the stories. The teaching of the Papal Church concerning the scapular dates from the

fourteenth century, and it arose in this way. An apparition of the Virgin to Pope John was reported, and it was said that the ghost intimated to him that if any person who from that time wore the scapular went to purgatory, "she, herself, would descend and free them on the Saturday following their death."*

Lord Llandaff told the House of Lords, in the debate on the Declaration Oath, July 8, 1901, that "to charge Catholics with the adoration of the Virgin Mary and the saints was a complete mis-statement, as no such adoration was practised by the Roman Church." This is somewhat strange, coming as it does from the lips of a lawyer, because if it is not "practised," it is certainly enjoined, and that on the very highest authority. The creed of Pius IV. enforces the practice, where it says (article 7), that "the saints reigning together with Christ *are* to be honoured and invoked;" and the Council of Trent declares that they hear our "mental and vocal prayers!"

Pope Gregory XVI., in the year 1832, addressed an encyclical letter to the prelates of the Roman Church, and which was published in Great Britain in the *Laity's Directory* for 1833. The closing paragraph is as follows:—"But that all may have a successful or happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most blessed Virgin Mary, who alone destroys heresies, *who is our greatest hope*—yea, THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE."

Pope Pius IX. pronounced, on December 8, 1854, a decree declaring the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary to be a "dogma of Catholic Faith." The edict proceeds:—"Let all the children of the

* Catholic Directory, p. 820

Catholic Church, most dear to us, hear these our own words, and with a more ardent zeal of piety, religion, and love, proceed to worship, invoke, and *pray to* the most Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, conceived without original sin." This appeared in *The Tablet* of January 27, 1855—a Roman Catholic newspaper, and now the property of Cardinal Vaughan.

In the month of February, 1870, the same journal stated that his Holiness Pope Pius IX. had approved and enriched with indulgences a prayer for the Greek schismatics wherein the following words occur:—"O Mary, Immaculate Virgin, we beseech thee to be pleased to entreat the Divine Spirit in favour of our erring brethren, that, enlightened by His quickening grace, they may return to the Catholic Church under the infallible authority of the chief pastor, the Roman Pontiff."

And in the same newspaper of 10th October, 1891, will be found a prayer of Leo XIII., enjoining the venerable brethren to urge on *all* "to redouble their piety towards the august Mother of God, the mighty helper of all Christians,* and should *pray to her*, invoking her by that most holy rite the Rosary. . . . As no man goeth to the Father but by the Son, no man goeth to Christ but by His Mother."

His lordship should treat himself to a *Roman Breviary*, and also to a copy of the *Glories of Mary*. He would then know not only the "practice" but the beliefs of the Church of which he is a member, and on the behalf of which he speaks.

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* Including Lord Llandaff, better known as Mr. Matthews, one of Lord Salisbury's Home Secretaries.

CHAPTER V.

FINAL DESTRUCTION OF MELROSE, KELSO, JEDBURGH, AND HADDINGTON.

KING HENRY VIII. was another English monarch who, by his officers, wrecked many a fair church and noble monastery in Scotland, besides turning a great part of the country into a wilderness. The Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1522, suddenly appeared at the head of an English army on the Borders, and, penetrating as far as Kelso, ravaged the district, and set fire to the abbey; but was forced to retire with heavy loss. In the following year, the Earl of Surrey laid siege to the large and magnificent abbey of Jedburgh, and for two hours battered it with his artillery. The assault, we may rest assured, did not do the convent any good; on the contrary, it well-nigh ruined the beautiful building.

During his first invasion of Scotland, in 1543-4, the Earl of Hertford anchored in Leith Roads with two hundred sail, and landed ten thousand foot soldiers at his leisure. When Cardinal Beaton saw the ships from the safe vantage-ground of the Castlehill of Edinburgh, he remarked, "I shall lodge all the men of war in my eye that shall land in Scotland." He could speak loftily enough so long as he stood, like chanticleer, on his own dunghill, just as he could loll bravely on rich cushions at the burning to death at the stake of the noble Wishart at St. Andrews three years afterwards;

but here, with fierce foes to face, he, on the landing of the English troops, fled precipitately to Linlithgow, and then to Stirling. Knox never fled like this from open foes.

Hertford sacked Leith, and, among other enormities, first plundered and then laid the larger part of St. Mary's in ruins. He also gave Edinburgh to the flames. At that time, and previously, the High Street was encumbered with heavy timber fronts of ornamental design. Fired in eight places, the smoke of the blazing houses drove the invaders out to ravage the adjacent country. The town continued to burn for three or four days, and the homeless inhabitants saw their fair city a smoking ruin. Misery, despair, desolation, and death, were bedfellows.

Holyrood, although repaired and occupied, had remained in a dilapidated condition from the time it was destroyed by Edward II. in 1322 till 1460, when it was repaired at great cost by Abbot Crawford; but Hertford "brent the abbey called Holyrode house, and the pallice adjoininge the same," Sir Richard Lea of Sopwell appropriating Bishop Crichton's brass lectern, and also the great brass font of curious workmanship, in the tumult caused by the conflagration. Hertford having lost five hundred men, besides many wounded, in besieging the castle, retreated homewards, giving, each in its turn, the towns of Seton and Dunbar to the flames. He also set the convent at Haddington ablaze—the "Lamp of Lothian"—an abbey which the English burned no less than three times. Lord Lisle, the English admiral, having set fire to Leith, left with his two hundred ships, burning and otherwise ravaging the towns and hamlets along the coast within reach, St. Monance and its kirk among the number.

Photos. by] LOOKING WEST.

CHAPEL ROYAL, HOLYROOD.

WESTERN END. *[Wm. Duncan, Leith.*

The terrible barbarities arising out of these raids, and the fearful sufferings to which the Scottish peasantry were subjected, to gratify the ambition of an English monarch, may be slightly imagined when it is stated that from July to November of this same year (1544) Sir Brian Layton, Sir Ralph Evers (or Eure), and Sir Richard Bowes kept up a merciless system of devastation on the Borders, committing shocking outrages on a defenceless people. They kept a "Bloody Ledger," which was duly forwarded to King Henry, their master. From this list it would appear that these three marauders "burnt or razed 192 towers, castles, and houses; 402 Scots slain, and 816 made prisoners; 10,386 cattle, 12,492 sheep, 1296 horses driven away as spoil, besides 850 bolls of corn."* A ruined Borderland. This list nearly corresponds with the one given by Tytler in his *History*, vol. iii., p. 27 (note), taken from Haynes's State Papers, in which the number of horses lifted—"nags, geldings, and foals"—is stated to have been 1496.

Having retired to England for a short period, to inform Henry of the glorious work in which they had been engaged, and what they had done, the latter having kindly presented all the estates they could seize in Scotland to themselves, Evers and Layton again crossed the Border, this time with 5000 troops, and overran great tracts of country without meeting opposition, the people having fled. As above stated, Melrose was fired by Richard II. It was again restored, King Richard himself being credited with having made handsome gifts to Melrose to assist the

* SCOTT'S *Tales of a Grandfather*, first series, p. 103. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1868.

work. It continued to flourish for upwards of one hundred and fifty years, having, in 1542, the enormous number of two hundred brethren, monks and laymen, in service. It would appear to have been the largest of the many almshouses scattered over the land. Only two short years after this date, the English once again destroyed the magnificent fabric. Evers and Layton did so in 1544. They reduced the invaded districts to a desert, and, amid other atrocities, set both the town and the Abbey of Melrose on fire. They sacked the beautiful abbey, wantonly breaking down the tombs where the earls of Douglas lay buried. Thus "the sepulchres of the dead were not spared." This atrocity took place sixteen years before the Reformation in Scotland, when Knox was unknown to his countrymen. Yet Lockhart, the biographer of Sir Walter Scott, has the confidence to say: "Such was the perfection of their barbarity [after the destruction of Melrose Abbey by the Reformers] that they sprung new arches—deforming with their sacrilegious intrusion—memorable trophies of the triumph of self-complacent ignorance; but the Presbyterians have now removed from the precincts of the old sanctuary, and the miserable little kirk they have erected at the distance of a few fields does not disturb the impression of its awful beauty."* It would be presumptuous on our part to say that Lockhart writes in "self-complacent ignorance;" but if not that, then the erroneous statement must be

* Lockhart's sneer at the "little kirk" may be allowed to pass; but it may be remarked that the words kirk and church bear the same meaning: "a circle." *Brewer.*—The ancient heathen worshipped the sun or moon, or both, in the circular dance, traces of which are still to be seen in the children's "ging-go-ring."

set down to "the idols of preconceived opinion," for, as we have been able to show, the Reformers had nothing whatever to do with the final destruction of Melrose. Evers and Layton also finally destroyed, after it had been once more restored, the Abbey of Jedburgh. Lovely in their ruins, both within and without, these two abbeys stand to-day a monument of the sacrilegious zeal of the pope's English "Defender of the Faith." That the character of Henry's "generals" may be understood—and they were only executing the orders of their king—it may be mentioned that "they burned the tower of Broomhouse, and in it its lady, a noble and aged matron, with her whole family."*

In the following year, Hertford made a second descent upon Scottish soil. In this incursion, he burned or otherwise destroyed seven monasteries, three hospitals, sixteen castles or towers, five market towns, thirteen mills, and two hundred and forty villages. The unfortunate abbeys of Melrose and Jedburgh were again burned, or what the stricken monks had been able to cover in with wood of the crumbling walls. Roslin Castle was also set on fire; and besides the damage done to the castle, the beautiful chapel came in for its share of ill usage. The chapel was greatly disfigured; but about 1580 it was partly restored by Sir William St. Clair, only, however, to be again defaced by an enraged Edinburgh mob at the Revolution in 1688, because of the slaughter of their fellow-citizens by the palace guard.

Kelso—a magnificent structure, and one which it took one hundred years to build—was another abbey which Hertford "demolished." An unwalled town,

* TYTLER'S *History*, vol. iii., p. 29.

Kelso was at once seized by him, but the monastery held out, and for a good reason. It is said that, in the days of its prosperity, it possessed enormous wealth, and so late as 1560 it had a revenue of about £6000 sterling. Shrewsbury pillaged and burned the abbey in 1522, but with that exception it appears to have escaped the merciless ravages of the Edwards and Richard, to a greater extent than any other convent. The Spanish and Italian mercenaries in the English army assaulted it, but were repulsed by the garrison, partly composed of monks. To be held in check by the "religious" would appear to have enraged Hertford, for he thereupon ordered up his cannon, and battered the abbey with shot. A breach in the wall being effected, the church was captured, the tower stormed, and the gallant "defenders put to the sword."* This cruel deed was done in 1545. The present ruinous state of the monastery dates from Shrewsbury's and Hertford's assaults upon it, yet HUTCHINSON, in his *History of Northumberland*, affirms that it was destroyed in 1569, forty-seven and twenty-four years respectively after the event! "This abbey," he says, "was demolished in 1569, in consequence of the enthusiastic Reformation, which, in its violence, was a greater disgrace to religion than all the errors it was intended to subvert. . . . Religion has received a greater shock from the present struggle to repress some formularies and save some scruples than it ever did by the growth of superstition" (vol. i., p. 265). On the supposition that there is a mistake in the year, and that instead of 1569 it should have been 1559, he is still thirty-seven and fourteen years out in his reckon-

* TYTLER'S *History*, vol. iii., p. 36.

Photo. by] JEDBURGH ABBEY. *[A. C. Burge.*

ing. It is from credulous writers such as Hutchinson that Catholics and others get both their "history" and their opinions.

It may be stated that Kelso Abbey is the single religious edifice preserving anything like a complete structure; it knew no restoration; it is the hulk as it had been founded, a monument of late Norman work, and of the destructive power of the English invaders. Still rearing upwards to old Sol are the central tower, the walls of the transept, a part of the choir, and the west end. The lands of Kelso Abbey were handed over to Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, in 1592, by King James VI., and his descendants still hold them.

Acting under the death-bed commands of King Henry, Hertford (now Protector Somerset) invaded Scotland for the third time in 1547, and summoning the Scottish nobility—many of whom were always ready to betray their country for English gold—to his aid, he reminded them of "the league by which they had bound themselves to assist the late King of England in the accomplishment of his designs; he called upon them for a performance of their promises; and many of the nobles and barons showed a readiness to repeat the same disgraceful game by which they had enriched themselves under the former reign."* He won the battle of Pinkie to the cry of "Come on, ye heretics!" With so many traitors in the Scottish camp—traitors whose influence caused the army to be removed, when in battle array, from the strong position it had taken up on one side of the river, to a weak one on the other—and a governor without military or diplomatic talent, it is small wonder that he won a

* TYTLER'S *History*, vol. iii., p. 53.

great victory, but it was a victory without honour, and barren in its results. It was a battle long and bitterly remembered in Scotland as Black Saturday. "Priestly intrigue broke the treaty with Henry for the marriage of his son with the girl Queen of Scotland, and Black Saturday came of it" (MACKENZIE, *Hist. of Scot.*, p. 313).

Among other devastations, Somerset first pillaged and then once more gave Leith to the flames, and burned Kinghorn on the opposite shore. Balmerina Abbey was also given to the flames by Wyndham, the English admiral, and all its treasures, including its "holy vessels" and several manuscripts, consumed. It was during this invasion that the Earl of Lennox, in the English interest, razed the town of Annan to the ground, and blew up the church and tower. One of Somerset's captains, Sir Walter Bonham, advanced upon Edinburgh. He bore a commission to uproot Holyrood Abbey, and finding that the monks had fled, he tore the lead from the roof of the church, and also off the palace, or so much of it as had escaped the late fire, which Abbot Bellenden had so carefully put on at the end of the previous century. Following the wretched example set him by Lea, Bonham laid his thievish hands upon Bellenden's great bells, and carried them off. The transepts and choir were greatly damaged.

PATTEN, in his *Expedition to Scotland under the Conduct of the Earl of Hertford* in 1547, remarks:— "We burnt a fine town of the Earl of Bothwell's, called Haddington, with a great nunnery, and a house of friars." It would seem from this that the "Paroche Kirk" was again given to the flames, and if so it is much in the same state now as when Hertford left it. At all events, it is stated on very good authority that

"neither in the Council records nor Burgh Court books is any notice to be found of any popular outbreak or destruction of property whatever, either public or private, as having occurred at Haddington at the time of the Reformation." Such being so, the Reformers are free from any responsibility as to the dilapidated condition of the "Lamp of Lothian." And how could they repair it without funds? The friars sold the lands which were meant for the support of the church within the burgh to the Town Council, and Queen Mary granted the monastery estates to the Earl of Bothwell. "If you want to immortalise yourself, build a cathedral," said the late Mr. Gladstone. Desirous of being one among the numerous mortar-tub immortals, an enthusiastic Scot is going to restore the Parish Kirk of Haddington to its former splendour. But that once done, we hope he will leave behind him sufficient funds to keep the huge structure in repair; for if he does not, the danger is that it will go the way of its predecessors.

From all this, it will be seen that the repeated invasions of Scotland by the English monarchs, year after year, and century after century, and the loss of life and destruction of property which followed in their path, were, if not the principal cause, among the chief causes why we now find so little remaining of the great edifices which at one time adorned the kingdom. The specific charge against the English Catholics is that they set on fire, or otherwise destroyed, the monasteries of Cambuskenneth, Coldingham, Dunfermline, Dryburgh, Eccles, Haddington, Holyrood, St. Giles, St. Mary's (Leith), Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, and many a kirk besides throughout the land. These buildings were all gutted, and little left

except blackened walls. After the brutal raids of Hertford in 1543-4, 1545, and 1547, and the equally ferocious incursions of Layton and Evers in 1543 and 1544, a Presbyterian may well be excused for asking the question: What was there left to destroy?

When these terrible ravages of Henry VIII. came to a close, most of the abbeys south of the Forth were heaps of ruins. A few houses in the north there might be which escaped; but in the south, none—nothing except the few odd repairs which had been executed by the monks. Complete and utter desolation befel the unfortunate country thirteen years before the Reformation. Yet the Reformers are blamed for it all! And a greater outcry is made over a few effigies removed from their niches, as at Melrose, if done by the Reformers, than over the entire abbey when set on fire and otherwise destroyed by the English Catholics, assisted in their sacrilegious work by their co-religionists from Spain and Italy.

And when a Glencairn, in carrying out the orders of the Privy Council of Scotland, purges a church of its images—idols which the people are encouraged to honour, kiss, and adore, as James IV. kissed the "arm bane" of St. Giles on his wedding-day, and as the famous bronze image of St. Peter is at this hour in Rome—and all other trappings of an idolatrous communion, as he and his friends did to Holyrood Abbey church in 1567, we are passionately told that "with a savage malignity he laid waste the beautiful chapel." This is not true; Glencairn was no wrecker of churches; all he did was to remove the "ecclesiastical furniture" in the building.

It is perhaps not altogether remarkable that such

an outcry should be raised by lovers of religious idols when the Reformer turns iconoclast; they cannot well turn upon themselves when guilty, as the Catholics were, not only of breaking in pieces and burning the images, and murdering and robbing the monks of their vestments and jewels, and vessels of silver and gold (the "holy vessels")—even casting out and trampling under foot the consecrated host, as Edward II. did at Melrose in 1322—but destroying the magnificent abbeys or beautiful chapels themselves all over the land. From the Catholic point of view, what may be heroic in a Papist becomes fiendish when the same act is done by a Protestant: hence their defence of the one and their abuse of the other. It is deliberately done, and the object is to divert the attention of the common Catholic—who, as a rule, although ignorant and prejudiced, is better than his religion—from the atrocities committed by the Roman Church upon their opponents to those trifling ones done by Protestants, which they exaggerate and magnify, making a mountain out of a molehill.

But why should Presbyterians, or even Episcopalians, adopt the same tactics? They at least ought to know the second commandment. Also, "I am the Lord; that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images" (Isaiah xlii. 8).

When Columbanus was in Switzerland, his companion, Gallus (St. Gall), burned the wooden temple at Zug, and cast the idols into the lake. Entering a church in the little hamlet of Bregenz, they were indignant at seeing the people worshipping three images of gilded brass as "the ancient gods and guardians" of the place. After denouncing the wor-

shippers for their idolatry, Gallus tossed the old brasses into the same lake. Christian bishops, like Martin of Tours, led monks to break the images, demolish the temples, and cut down the sacred trees of the heathen, or relapsed Christians, in Italy and elsewhere. In this they were only following the example set them by King Hezekiah, who "removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense *to it;* and he called it Nehustan," *i.e.*, a bit of brass (2 Kings xviii. 4). In doing so, Hezekiah consulted both the glory of God and the good of his people. Idolatry seems to be inherent in human nature, and wherever encouraged, there it will flourish. Why should the Catholics bless the iconoclast, and even make him a saint, as St. Gall, of the fourth century, and curse the iconoclast of the sixteenth for doing the same work, namely, putting down idolatry? What a falling away is here.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND A SCHISMATIC CATHOLIC.

IN Scotland, then, churches, hospitals, monasteries, and nunneries were plundered of their valuables and burned, in numerous instances being reduced to empty shells, by Somerset, Layton, and Evers, acting upon the orders of their king to subjugate the country; and the question, an indispensable one to our investigation, arises—What religion did Henry VIII. profess? It is not necessary to dip deep into his history to answer the question. It should, we think, be best answered by his acts, and especially by his conduct towards Protestants. Henry was a second son, and was being educated for the priesthood when the way to the crown was opened up to him by the death of his brother Arthur. He came to the throne in 1509 under the patronage of the Roman pontiff, and the national religion was Popery. Every single doctrine that was then professed by the Roman Church was held by the English Church; and he did not change one of them. True, he broke with the pontiff, but it was purely on political, moral, and social, and not on religious grounds that he did so. The king opposed the supremacy of the pope in the Church of England, but the supremacy of the pope formed no article of faith of the Church of Rome.

Henry was a theologian, and entered the lists against

Luther, whose voice was heard ringing throughout Europe. "How dare you, O Luther, lift your eyes before God or man, after having allowed yourself to be borne away by your concupiscence at the instigation of the devil!" This quotation is taken from Father Keenan's *Controversial Catechism,* chap. iii., sec. 1, and he gives as his authority for the statement Florimond, p. 299. To how many of his "unlettered" Catholics the reference may be useful we leave the reader to judge. And could there be a more incongruous act than a priest of the Roman Church quoting Henry?—a man whom all Papists profess to abhor, and whom Father Keenan himself designates as "the greatest monster that ever disgraced Christianity" (*Ibid.* sec. 6). Protestants have no interest in defending Henry, but in view of the great devastation and havoc he brought upon the Scottish abbeys, the religion he professed must be made plain. In making such an assertion, Priest Keenan is, we fear, wilfully forgetful of two facts. The first of these is that Henry, for the long period of twenty-four years, was on excellent, not to say intimate, terms with four pontiffs, while a fifth, Pope Paul III., wanted his friendship. If Henry was such a "monster," what are we to think of the five pontiffs who courted his friendship? The second is, that Paul III. was a worse man than Henry. He was one of the most lascivious of popes, and he poisoned his own mother and sister, while John XXIII. (the pope whom the Council of Constance deposed as guilty of the violation of nuns and other crimes) and Alexander VI. (Borgia) were such monsters of wickedness that Henry, in his connubial relationships, was innocency itself in comparison. But any sort of weapon is good enough

to break an opponent's back with, and Father Keenan's object in quoting Henry is that he may, through him, traduce Luther for taking to himself a wife instead of a concubine, as was the habit of the priests in that age, and through Luther the Protestant religion. And he is careful to withhold the fact that, in his zeal for the Catholic Church, Henry went much further in a letter to Louis of Bavaria, actually advising him to devote Luther, "as an obstinate heretic," to the flames! There he showed his true Catholic instincts—the cowl beneath the crown—which he put into practice later on in his reign on his own countrymen. Henry's attack on Luther gave great satisfaction to the infidel Pope Leo X., who conferred on its author the title of "Defender of the Faith!"

That Henry had not departed from "the faith" in 1536 the Ten Articles, drawn up at the royal theologian's dictation, abundantly prove. The object of these articles, as set out in their title, was "to establish Christian quietness and unity, and to avoid contentious disputes." In the article on penance, confession to a priest is declared to be necessary, "if it may be had;" and bishops and preachers are directed to teach the people that the words of absolution are as "the very words and voice of God Himself speaking unto us out of heaven!" In the one on the altar, the dogma of transubstantiation is affirmed, and that strongly. In those articles relating to matters of custom and ritual, it is admitted that, while circumstances might justify the destruction of images, according to Old Testament precedent, yet it was desirable to retain them, "especially the images of Christ and Our Lady." Prayer is regarded as

praiseworthy "to saints in heaven everlastingly living;" purgatory is commended, and so are prayers and masses for the souls of the dead, "though we know not where they are!" Although there is a little deviation from the strict Romish doctrines, such as when it is said that the pardons of the Bishop of Rome are not necessary for obtaining everlasting life, or for delivering the souls of men out of purgatory, yet the Ten Articles are in general accord with the opinions and practices of the Catholic Church.

Three years later, in 1539, as if still further to emphasize his Catholic beliefs, the decidedly Papal statute known as the Six Articles, or "the whip with the six strings," was passed into law by the English Parliament. It was a most infamous statute, and is proof, if any were wanting, of the barbarous, ferocious, and persecuting spirit of the age, the result, in great measure, of the intolerant teaching of the Romish Church. Remarkable as "the first attempt to make religious doctrine part of the statute law," this Act imposed all the leading dogmas of Popery on the people of England, affirming—(1) That in the Lord's Supper "the natural body and blood of Christ are present." (2) That communion in both kinds is unnecessary; that is, withholding the cup from the laity. (3) That priests might not marry. (4) That vows of celibacy ought to be observed. (5) That the use of private masses ought to be continued. And (6) that auricular confession is expedient and necessary. The penalties annexed to the Act were severe, in fact atrocious, for all those who denied or disputed the first article, namely, transubstantiation, were to be immediately consigned to the flames, and not allowed to recant; while those

who denied the other five were to be accounted felons, and on their conviction hanged. And the property of all so condemned was to be confiscated (31 Henry VIII., c. xiv.). This dreadful statute, or rather creed, under which so many "heretics" were burned to death at the stake, was the joint production of Henry, "Head of the Church," and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the same man who abused Pope Paul III. for excommunicating and deposing the king, and who, in after years, became the chief adviser of "Bloody Mary."

It may not be out of place here to state that on January 7, 1531, first the Canterbury Convocation, and then the York Convocation a month later, amid intense silence—which the president declared to be assent—affirmed that the king was Supreme Head of the Church of England, adding, "as far as the law of Christ will allow;" and on March 22, 1532, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, signed the Submission sent to the king, styling him "Protector and Supreme Head of the Church of England." This was a decided inroad upon the Papacy, since no other construction than one adverse to its authority could be legitimately drawn from the added clause, and the acknowledging of the supremacy of the king. Treasure to the amount of £118,000 (an enormous sum in those days, being about £1,400,000 sterling) accompanied the document. This was a fine imposed upon the clergy for supporting Cardinal Wolsey for exercising legatine authority in England contrary to statute law. We may also state that the first active movement towards a separation from the See of Rome did not arise with the king: it originated, just as the confiscation of the monasteries

did, with the Catholics themselves. Some six weeks after the signing of the Submission, a Convocation of bishops and clergy was held to consider the grievances arising out of the numerous and onerous taxes put upon them by the pope. This was a sore point with them, and they may be excused for not seeing these exactions in the same light as Pope Innocent V. did, when he gratefully testified that England was "a very garden of delights, and an inexhaustible well." And so it was—to him—for the pope demanded of the prelates that "the beneficed clergy in England who resided on their livings should confer one-third part of their livings on the Lord Pope; and that those who did not reside should grant one-half." * To be relieved of these and other exactions, the clergy in their petition to Parliament prayed:—

"May it please your Highness to ordain, in this present Parliament, that the obedience of your Highness and of the people be withdrawn from the See of Rome" (23 Henry VIII., c. xxi.).

The result of the petition was that the statute 23 Henry VIII., c. xix., which had been pigeon-holed, was relaid on the table of the House, and passed into law. It enacted that *annates* or first fruits—that is, a year's income from every clerical person on his preferment to a benefice—also all fees on the appointments of bishops, and for bulls, palliums, &c., should not be paid to the See of Rome. The Act did not stop here, for it forbade any man going to Rome for the dignity of an archbishop or bishop. This was another blow at the Papacy, and the surprising thing about the transaction is that it originated with the clergy. But

* MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Angliæ*, p. 716. 1640 edition.

the unfortunate priests, while escaping from the heavy hand of the Roman pontiff, fell into the equally heavy hand of the king, for in future the first fruits were to be paid to him! Rapin calculates that from the second year of Henry VII. to the rejection of the Papal authority by his son, no less a sum than £167,000 had been paid to the See of Rome for annates, palls, bulls, &c., equal to about £2,000,000 sterling.

While thus undermining the authority of the pope, it is not to be supposed that the king and the clergy had become non-Catholics. Nothing was further from the king's thoughts. Until his quarrel with Clement VII. over the Bull of Divorce, Henry maintained the Papal supremacy, and until the day of his death he was rigidly orthodox in the Catholic doctrines of transubstantiation, auricular confession, and celibacy of clergy. If ever there was a man possessed with the transubstantiation craze, that man was Henry VIII. At this very time not only did he declare that there would be no change in religion, but took strong measures against all those who ventured openly to impugn the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. That this was so is evident from the fate that overtook Thomas Bilney, the Norwich martyr, a lettered man, who was burned to death at the stake for heresy. The killing of Bilney at this particular time proves that the changes aimed at by the king were political, and that reformation of religion had little or nothing to do with them. For rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation the king, in 1535, committed fourteen Protestants to the flames. In 1539, in Westminster Hall, Henry himself "took his place on the judgment-seat in robes of white satin, having on his right hand the prelates,

the judges, and the most eminent lawyers, and on his left the temporal lords and the great officers of the Court." All this to try a poor man in priest's orders named Lambert, a convert of Bilney and a friend of Tindale, who was charged with denying the dogma of the "real presence," *i.e.*, Christ's natural body in the sacrament. The discussion between Henry and Lambert continued for about five hours, Cranmer and nine other prelates taking part in the debate. Darkness had set in, and torches lit, when the king, getting impatient, demanded of the priest:

"What sayest thou now, after these solid reasons brought forward by these learned men? Art thou satisfied? Wilt thou live, or die?"

The undaunted clergyman said he was still unconvinced, and could only throw himself on the mercy of the king. Hearing this, Henry blurted out that "he would be no patron of heretics!" and proceeded thereupon to condemn Lambert to be burned at the stake "as an obstinate opponent of the truth!" Two days thereafter the poor man underwent a cruel and shocking death. His burned and half-scorched body was deliberately, and amid horrible atrocity, consumed piecemeal. Many another noble and conscientious man suffered at the stake, including the martyrs Barnes, Garret, and Jerome. Towards the end of his reign, under the infamous Six Articles Act (which was not repealed until the following reign), the heroic Anne Askew underwent the same dread penalty for denying transubstantiation. Steadily refusing to renounce her opinions, she was placed on the rack, stretched and tortured so that she lost the use of her limbs. Her firmness so enraged Wriothesly, the chancellor, that he

worked the machine with his own hands to make her confess her "accomplices." It was in vain, and Anne was condemned to the stake, carried there, and burned to death by the chivalrous king, prelates, and noblemen of the period.

From the foregoing, we think it must be apparent to all unprejudiced people that Henry clung with a limpet-like tenacity to the fundamental doctrines of Popery, and to the end of his days remained a schismatic Catholic. He executed a number of people who would not acknowledge his supremacy in the English Church, including Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher; but he beheaded them as traitors, and not as heretics.

These persons were sacrificed not for a principle, but for rejecting a comparatively modern theological speculation, namely, the dogma of the "real presence." There can be no "mass" or "host" without it, yet the term and doctrine of transubstantiation was only adopted and affirmed by the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, ninety-nine years previous to the Battle of Bannockburn. Failing to catch on, the miracle of Bolsena (blood flowing from the cup and wafer!) was wrought in 1263 to bring the new dogma into fashion; and in the following year Urban IV. issued the bull for the establishment of the festival of Corpus Christi. On that "dangerous deceit," as the thirty-first article of the English Church calls transubstantiation, rests another dangerous deceit, that of the priesthood; and on the fable of the priesthood is raised the great fabric of the Papal Church.

The difference between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic is that the Protestant thinks there is no such thing as a human body in the bread or wine, and the Roman Catholic thinks there is nothing else. Reason does not support the mysticism of the Catholic; neither does sight, nor does the laboratory. "Oh, but," says the Catholic, "what you see, and what the laboratory reveals, are accidents." Unfortunately for this contention, there is nothing else except "accidents" in the eucharist.

Catholics say that "no man has ever been able to point out the priest who first said mass. It follows that we have received the mass from Christ and His apostles, since, if it were the invention of man, it could be traced to its author." * Were Christ and His apostles the authors of the mass there would be no difficulty in tracing it to its authors, because it would be found in the New Testament. It is not there, and Papists, on whom the onus of proof lies, fall back on tradition for the greatest article of their faith, namely, "the soul of religion." † The "unbloody sacrifice" of the mass is of Babylonian origin, and hence the difficulty of Romanists to point to its inventor. The letters I.H.S. were stamped on the wafer ages before Christ and His apostles were heard of, and they stood for *Isis, Horus, Seb,* that is, the mother, the child, and the father of the gods. In other words, I.H.S. stands for the Egyptian Trinity. The mass entered the Church through Arabia. When the women of that country began to adopt this wafer, and offer the "unbloody sacrifice," all genuine Christians saw at once the real

* KEENAN'S *Controversial Catechism*, chap. xxvi., sec. 1.
† *Ibid.* chap. vii., sec. 5.

character of their sacrifice. They were treated as heretics. "But Rome saw that the heresy might be turned to account; and therefore, although condemned by the sound portion of the Church, the practice of offering and eating this 'unbloody sacrifice' was patronised by the Papacy; and now, throughout the whole bounds of the Romish communion, it has superseded the simple but most precious sacrament of the Supper instituted by our Lord Himself." * One peculiarity between the mass and the Lord's Supper is that the former must be taken after a long fast, as was the case in the temples of Pagan Rome, whereas the latter was partaken of immediately after a hearty meal.

Henry the schismatic, then, being a professed and intolerant Catholic during the many years that his armies invaded Scotland, there should be no doubt in the minds of impartial persons that "the pitiful devastation of churches and church buildings throughout the realm" was not the work of the Reformers, nor of John Knox, as Bishop Spotswood assumes it to have been; and that "the absolute destruction of the churches in Scotland," which Father Keenan calmly assures his co-religionists was the work of Protestants, was committed by the Catholics themselves—by the English Roman Catholics, who were the great wreckers of the Scottish churches, cathedrals, and abbeys. Churches and hospitals, monasteries and nunneries, castles and towns and villages, all fell before these Catholics in the Lothians, in the Merse, in Teviotdale,

* Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 164. London: S. W. Partridge & Co. Seventh edition.

in Stirlingshire, in Fife, and in the North, with, of course, their contents, including valuable plenishings, "holy vessels" of gold and silver, "holy relics," vestments, pictures and images, ornaments of all sorts, and several MSS., but ignorantly or wickedly attributed to the Reformers, and especially to Knox. This great and deplorable destruction of property—this great "devastation"—was mostly all done between the years 1543 and 1547, when Knox was at Longniddry, thirteen to seventeen years before the Scottish Reformation. And these destructive outrages can all be traced to priestly intrigue, whereby the treaty with Henry for the marriage of his son with the child Mary of Scotland was broken. That treaty, at a great meeting of the nobility in Holyrood, was read, signed, and sealed.

Regent Arran was favourable to the Protestant cause. He, however, was as clay in the hands of Cardinal Beaton, who prevailed upon him not only to publicly recant his Protestant opinions in the Franciscan convent at Stirling in 1543, but to throw up the treaty with England, for which an alliance with France was substituted. The result was that Scotland was divided into two great camps: the English party, favoured by nearly all the friends of the Reformation; and the French faction, headed by the cardinal, and supported by the whole Catholic interest. The renunciation by Regent Arran of the Protestant religion, and his reconciliation with the Papal party, gave a complete turn to the affairs of Scotland. By that act he joined the French-Romish faction, whose machinations caused the treaty of peace with England to be broken, resulting, as we have seen, in great misery to the people, and the destruction of nearly all the religious houses, which, if

the Catholics built, the Catholics demolished. Henry treated the matter as a gross breach of faith, and he determined to compel the Scots by force of arms to keep the treaty. In this he failed, but they were severely punished, only ending with "Black Saturday" after a nine years' war. Scotland has cause to remember Catholic intrigue, and a cruel, schismatic Catholic king's relentless hate.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MARTYRS' ROLL.

BEFORE entering upon the Scotch Civil War, it may be necessary to refer briefly to the persecution to which many, for their religious opinions, were subjected by the Roman Catholic authorities previous to and during its continuance, and give some instances of such. We will select a few names on the roll of martyrs, in the hope that their history, although not by any means new, may tend to brush aside the many slanders so industriously woven round the Reformers by their enemies. There is a certain class of writers who affect to believe that objection to a few formularies in the Romish system was at the bottom of the upheaval in Scotland. Had that been so, there is no probability that any change would have taken place. Its influence was so great, and its interests, territorial and otherwise, so formidable in the land, that any objection taken merely to the Roman Breviary or to the Book of Ceremonies, or both, would have had no more effect than the proverbial fly on the wheel. The dignified clergy of the Papacy would never have thought it worth their while to endeavour to stamp out the new opinions, nor to put to death those holding them, had that been all. If that "monument of idolatry," the mass, fell, then the whole apostate Church would fall, and that they knew full well. To cast it out

of the Church, and to put the Evangel in its place, was the object at which the Reformers aimed, and they would not have entered into a life and death struggle for anything less.

Notwithstanding all the efforts put forth by the Papists to crush the "heretics," persecuting them even to death, their dreaded opinions continued to spread slowly but surely, not only among the more intelligent priests, but among the nobility and gentry, the merchants and craftsmen, and to some extent among the farmers and labourers. This was considered a great evil by the bishops, and, having got the ear of the king, they came to the conclusion that if it was to be checked drastic legislation must be resorted to. The outcome of this dangerous feeling was that the Popish Parliament of 1541, in the reign of James V., took steps to suppress the new doctrines. "The Catholic clergy, whose counsels were gradually gaining influence in the bosom of the monarch, procured the passing of many severe statutes against heresy. To argue against the supreme authority, or to question the spiritual infallibility of the pope, was made a *capital offence;* no person even suspected of entertaining heretical opinions was to be admitted to any office in the government, whilst those who had fled from judicial examination were to be held as confessed, and sentence passed against them. All private meetings or conventicles, where religious subjects were debated, were declared illegal, rewards promised to those who revealed where they were held; and such was the jealousy with which the Church provided against the contamination of its ancient doctrines, that no Catholic was to be permitted to converse with any one who had at

any time embraced heretical opinions, although he had repented of his apostacy and received absolution for his errors."*

It is a curious thing that those in authority will not leave other people alone, but must interfere in matters small or great, including their opinions on religion, with which beyond moral suasion they have naught to do. And it is equally curious that Roman Catholics, who consider themselves absolutely in the right, should display such a want of moral courage in that they deny to others the right of private judgment which they claim for themselves, deny the right of investigation to the extent of shutting books in their faces, and, as a last resource, curse them as "rebels" against the pope, and appeal to physical force. Curious, too, is the fact, that while the rabid Papists in the Parliament above-mentioned could see nothing wrong in their own religious system, and, in their fear, pass such severe enactments to crush all investigation, and not only all investigation but all investigators, could yet make the strongest exhortations to the monks, abbots, and bishops to reform their lives and conversation. In the Act, it is specified that "the unhonesty and misrule of Kirkmen, both in wit, knowledge, and manners," are the chief causes of their being lightly esteemed, and held in contempt by the laity, which is just what the Reformers said both before and after the Act came into operation. That the "manners" and "unhonesty" of the clergy were bad, and that there was much evil living in the convents, is evidenced by the fact that in this reign—that of James V.—the pope ordered the Archbishop of St. Andrews to visit every monastery in

* TYTLER, *History*, vol. ii., p. 368.

Scotland, and to punish "the excess and enormity of the brethren dwelling therein."

Rather than reform their evil ways, and live without debauching other men's wives and daughters, the aristocratic clergy burned the men who dared to call their conduct in question. The roll of Scotch martyrs is a lengthy one, and of those honoured names we can only refer to a few.

THE PERTH MARTYRS.

Had there not been other causes at work, we question if any sermon, no matter how powerful, Knox could have preached would have had much effect upon the populace. Among these causes were the dreadful scenes witnessed by their forefathers, and by themselves while Cardinal Beaton was in power. He began, in 1537, a severe persecution, which only ended with his assassination in 1546, of all those persons who were suspected of favouring the reformed doctrines. Many were forced to recant, many were imprisoned, and many banished, drowned, hanged, or burned.

JOHN RESBY.

The first martyr to the Protestant faith in Scotland was John Resby, an Englishman, and believed to be a Lollard. A well-informed man, and an eloquent speaker, the ignorant friars were unable to cope with him. Besides teaching the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, he taught that auricular confession, and the penances following thereon, were of no great value or utility in the matter of salvation; maintained that an absolutely sinless life was necessary in any one

who presumed to call himself the Vicar of Christ; and denied the authority of the pope as the successor of St. Peter. The teaching of such doctrines soon aroused the jealousy of the priests. The daring preacher was seized by the inquisitor, Lawrence of Lindores, long remembered in the land as a cruel persecutor. Resby was accused of teaching forty "heresies." Tried by a council of the clergy, over which Prior Lawrence presided, he was condemned to the stake. He was delivered over to the secular power, the cruel sentence being carried into immediate execution. He was burned at Perth in 1407, and his books and writings, or as many of them as the friars could lay their hands on, were tossed into the fire to feed the flames. His barbarous execution created a great sensation throughout the country. He was held in high estimation by the people, and his opinions were never eradicated, but were handed down from generation to generation in those of his writings which had passed into the hands of others before his murder, and which were read secretly in fear of the priests.

HELEN STARK.

It was about one hundred and forty years after the burning of Resby when the people of Perth were startled by another horrible scene of a like nature. This time there were no less than six persons, five men and one woman, and they were executed in 1543, or 1545 according to some historians. Their names were Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Rawleson, James Finlayson, and Helen Stark, wife of the latter. The men were seized and imprisoned in the Spey Tower. They were tried before Cardinal

Beaton, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, the Earl of Argyle, Justice Campbell of Lunday, and certain others of the nobility and gentry—a full bench. The six "rebels" were charged, in general, with violating the tenor of the Act of Parliament referred to above, which forbade, among other things, the assembling of any of the lieges together to hear the reading and expounding of the Scriptures. Lamb was specially accused of, during sermon, interrupting a friar named Spence, who affirmed that "prayers to the saints were so necessary, that without them there could be no hope of salvation to man." This blasphemous doctrine Lamb denied, and abjured the priest to speak the truth. For doing so, he narrowly escaped with his life at the hands of the women, of whom the audience was chiefly composed. Anderson and Rawleson were charged with the further crime of satirising the saints, having hanged with a cord, nailed ram's horns to the head, and tied a cow's tail to the image of St. Francis, also with having eaten goose on Hallow-E'en, which was forbidden by the pope. The woman, whose maiden name was Helen Stark, was specially charged with not calling upon the name of the Virgin Mary. She would pray "to God only for His free mercy, for Jesus Christ's sake." This was too much for the priests, who denounced such a prayer as "most execrable."

The whole five men were condemned to death, and Helen was brought out to see her husband hanged. She begged to be executed with him, but she was reserved for drowning. Being refused her desire, with a brave heart she set to and cheered her good man. "Husband," she said, "be glad we have lived together many joyful days, and this day of our death we ought

to esteem the most joyful of all, for soon we shall have joy for ever. Therefore, I will not bid you good-night, for we shall shortly be in the kingdom of heaven." Cardinal Beaton, as was his wont, lounged in a window of the Tower, gloating over the miserable and shocking tragedy. Having seen her husband hanged, she took from her bosom the infant she had suckled, and handed it to the nurse she had provided. Helen was ready. She was taken and drowned in the river Tay. Such a scene was not uncommon in those days of priestly government, with the added horrors of living human beings, their heads blackening in the sun, consumed to ashes amid the flames of burning faggots. It was such scenes as we have tried to describe which enraged and maddened the populace, ending in the destruction of the religious houses at Perth.

THE ST. ANDREWS MARTYRS.

PAUL CRAWAR.

After he had seen the churches and convents purged of their idolatrous contents, and openly burned, Archbishop Hamilton and his one hundred troopers fled to Falkland, and in the palace there complained to the queen regent of the "indignities committed upon the houses of the religious" by the rebels. The "indignities" were not committed without sufficient cause. As far back as 1433, the citizens of St. Andrews were witnesses of a scene which burned itself into the brains of the spectators, and as a tale haunted the imaginations of succeeding generations. This was the burning, for preaching the Gospel, of Paul Crawar, a powerful speaker, by order of the inquisitor (Prior Lawrence) and

his clerical council, the same priest who had previously sent John Resby to the flames at Perth. Crawar was a physician, but being learned in the Scriptures, he embraced every opportunity of preaching the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. He taught that the Bible ought to be freely communicated to the people; that pilgrimages were useless; that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a delusion; that the power of the "keys" and absolution were the inventions of man, and purgatory a fable; that in a temporal kingdom the spiritual power ought to be subservient to the civil, and that magistrates had a right to arraign, on trial, and to punish delinquent ecclesiastics of all ranks. His and Resby's followers celebrated the Lord's Supper after the same manner that Presbyterians do to-day. For this he was tried before the inquisitor, who showed no mercy to a brave man who would not retract, but could die. He was condemned as a "heretic." The priests put a brass ball into his mouth to prevent him speaking to the people, and burned him at the stake, amid the execrations of the assembled crowd.

PATRICK HAMILTON.

Patrick Hamilton was educated at St. Andrews, and early distinguished himself as an independent thinker. Not being satisfied merely with what the spoon put into him, he soon detected and despised the tenets of the schoolmen. Luther's treatises about this period were being introduced into Scotland by the merchants, and it is thought that he had picked up a gleam of light from some of them. He made his way to Germany, and at Wittenberg made the acquaintance of the Reformer. He also made the acquaintance of

Melancthon. They recommended him to the care of Lambert, the head of the university of Marpurg, who fully instructed him in the reformed doctrines. On his return to Scotland in 1527, he at once began to preach the Gospel. He taught the Biblical doctrine of justification by faith, and failed not to expose the unscriptural tenets of Rome. Like Paul Crawar, he had a wonderful knowledge of the Scriptures, and could defend the position he had taken up with such success that he converted a Catholic priest who had been sent to convert him! Preaching with a winning fervour, he made a great impression upon his countrymen. This alarmed the clergy, and especially the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who took questionable measures to have him arrested.

After the lapse of one hundred years from the death of Paul Crawar at the stake, the inhabitants of St. Andrews, in 1528, had further reason to remember the Papal Church. In that year Patrick was decoyed by the priests to their city, seized, tried, and condemned to be burned alive "as an obstinate heretic." He was burned before the old college. James Beaton is held responsible for this cruel murder. The faggots were damp and green. Out of the midst of the slow fire came the agonised cry, "Have you no dry wood?" And for answer the priests of Dagon crowded round tortured humanity, thrusting the crucifix forward, shouting: "Heretic, call upon Our Lady. Convert, and say, Hail, Queen of Heaven!" But the faithful Patrick would not acknowledge the Catholic goddess, and he was left to his fate. The iron band which encircled his body and held it to the stake was becoming red hot, and the heroic young martyr was in horrible

agony. Yet he found voice to pray. "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men?" Death at last coming to his relief, the young man whom the Roman Catholic Church tortured so as a "heretic" died with these words on his lips, heard issuing from the midst of the flames: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

HENRY FORREST.

Henry Forrest was another sufferer. He was burned at the stake in St. Andrews, in 1530, for being the possessor of a New Testament, and affirming that Patrick Hamilton was a true martyr.

GEORGE WISHART.

Another dreadful scene of the same kind occurred in 1546. This time it was George Wishart, "the Martyr," who was the victim. He was a schoolmaster at Montrose, and for teaching his pupils Greek, as the original language of the New Testament, he incurred the wrath of the priests, and fled to England. Returning to Scotland, he inveighed against the deadly superstitions of Popery, pointed out its doctrinal errors, and, worst of all for his own safety, attacked the corrupt and profligate lives led by the dignified clergy and the religious generally, the natural result of enforced celibacy. This drew down upon him the hatred of Cardinal David Beaton, who was the father of several natural children. Wishart had been preaching at Haddington, and he and a few friends left the town on foot, and lodged that night in the house of Cockburn of Ormiston. At midnight the house was surrounded by a band of armed men under the command of the Earl of

Bothwell, while Beaton himself, at the head of five hundred more, lay within a mile of it. Relying on the promise that his person and life would be safe, Wishart surrendered himself into the hands of Bothwell, who carried him to Hailes, his own residence. The earl intended to keep his promise, but the cardinal, who had sent Bothwell to capture Wishart, demanded that the prisoner be given up to him. The earl demurred, but the clink of Beaton's gold overcame his integrity, and he delivered up his prisoner. His victim once in his hands, the haughty priest lost no time, even over-riding the law of the State in his haste to gratify his revenge. He summoned a Synod of bishops to meet at St. Andrews, and requested Regent Arran to nominate a judge. The bishops obeyed; but the regent refused to do what he was asked: he would not give civil sanction to such proceedings. As by the pontifical law the cardinal could neither sit in judgment nor pass sentence in a criminal case, or, as Mr. Keenan puts it, "the Church, under her highest penalty, forbids any ecclesiastic to concur in any sanguinary punishment,"* he was furious; but being a priest of resource, and understanding the Vatican and its slippery ways, he replied that "he had not written to the regent thus, as if his authority were of any consequence in the business, but only for form's sake he wished his name added to the sentence!"† Thus the cardinal blurted out the truth, that it is the Church and not the State which murders "heretics," and Father Keenan's "highest penalty" is all moonshine. Cardinal Beaton determined to go on with the trial of the prisoner on his

* Con. Cat., chap. xxxi.

† BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 355.

own authority. Wishart was speedily brought before this peculiar spiritual tribunal, and in his defence practically took up the same position as that taken up by Paul Crawar and Patrick Hamilton. While ably defending his own opinions from Scripture and reason, he at the same time spoke plainly of the doctrines held by the Romish Church, pronouncing them "pestilential, blasphemous, and abominable, not proceeding from the inspiration of God, but the suggestions of the devil." The gnashing of priests' teeth was heard in the hall that day, and Wishart was soon found guilty of heresy, and sentenced to death by the bishops.

Shortly after this, on 28th March, 1546, a great multitude of people assembled before the cardinal's castle or palace of St. Andrews. In front of the castle stood a gibbet with a high stake fixed in the centre, and bundles of firewood piled around it. The guns of the fortress were pointed on the scaffold, and beside them were the gunners with lighted matches. The fore tower of the palace was hung with tapestry; and the exultant cardinal, bishops, abbots, priors, and other lordly ecclesiastical dignitaries, reclining on rich cushions spread on the bartizan, were all there to glut their eyes with the dreadful spectacle. With a heavy chain round his waist, and a rope about his neck, Wishart was led to his doom. Kneeling down, the Martyr audibly prayed: "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me. Father of heaven, into Thy hands I commit my spirit." This victim of priestly dread and hatred was then hoisted on to the scaffold by affixing the hooks to the iron chain under his oxters; the halter round his neck was drawn tight, and his body, dangling above the burning faggots, was con-

sumed to ashes. The common people were enraged, and threats of revenge were heard.

WALTER MILL.

Yet again were the citizens of St. Andrews to witness the horrible spectacle of the burning of a human being in the name of religion. The next victim—and the last in Scotland, because the Roman Catholic system was superseded by the Presbyterian Church—was Walter Mill, an old man upwards of eighty years of age, and at one time parish priest of Lunan, in Angus. Having embraced the reformed doctrines, he began to teach them to his parishioners; but on his fellow-priests ascertaining he had given over saying mass, he was seized and condemned as a "heretic." This occurred in the time of Cardinal Beaton. Escaping from jail, he continued to preach in different parts of the country, privately and openly; but the priests were once more set on his track, and Archbishop Hamilton's spies having found him, he was brought to trial before a full synod of bishops and dignified clergy in the metropolitan church of St. Andrews. A weak, emaciated old man, he had to be helped into the box when brought into court from the loathsome "Bottle Dungeon" in which he had been confined. It was thought he would make little if any defence, or even be able to answer the questions which might be put to him; but to the amazement of all present he showed a wonderful vitality, and conducted his case with great spirit and animation. The lordly prelates threatened the aged evangelist, and taunted him with bitter reproaches; but he replied with firmness, and so acutely that even his enemies thought he must be supported by Divine

power. But that did not soften their hearts towards the brave and honest old man, and he was condemned to be burned to death as a "heretic." As in the case of Wishart, this was done by the clergy alone, the civil power being unrepresented; and even after they had pronounced him guilty, no secular judge could be found to pass sentence. "The odious office, however, was at last performed by a dissolute retainer of the archbishop," who was himself given to all kinds of low animal pleasures.

The inhabitants closed their shops, so that the archbishop's menials could not get cord to tie the aged man to the stake, nor a tar barrel to burn him with, and were forced to cut the ropes of their master's pavilion to do the deed. The old man was borne to the stake in April, 1558, and, the priests refusing to permit their victim to address the people, the young men bade him speak what he pleased. Standing on the wood, he told them that the cause for which he sacrificed his life was the defence of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. He then spoke of Christ, the Son of God, and His great mercy to sinners, He having given up His life to satisfy Divine justice for them. The people who heard him wept and sobbed around the stake. From amidst the fire the sufferer was heard to say: "As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." Among his last words were: "Lord, have mercy on me." This brutal murder caused a feeling of horror to run through the country; and the people, convinced that the queen regent was not accessory to the merciless

deed, directed their anger against the priests. They joined the reformed party in great numbers, and avowed their determination to adhere to them at all hazards.

On the spot where the venerable Walter Mill was consumed to ashes the citizens of St. Andrews raised a cairn. The archbishop ordered its removal, and threatened vengeance; but no sooner had the priests removed the stones than they were replaced by others during the night. He then anathematized any man who should lay a stone upon the spot, but as fast as the priests bore off the stones the cairn was reared again and again.

THE STIRLING MARTYRS.

Among the Sufferers were the Stirling Martyrs. They were Sir Duncan Sympson (so titled from the position he held in the Roman Church; he was a secular priest); Keilor and Beveridge, two religious of the order of Blackfriars; Robert Foster or Forrester, a notary, with three or four others whose names are unknown, all of Stirling. There was also Dean Thomas Forret or Forrest, vicar of Dollar, and a canon regular of Inchcolm. He was a son of the chief stabler and bridle-maker of King James IV. After passing through the grammar school of his native county, he was sent to the University of Cologne to prosecute his studies. Although neither a native of, nor even a resident in Stirling, Forret had yet, from his being vicar of Dollar, a close connection with it; was tried, condemned, and burned along with the Stirling gentlemen, and hence his inclusion as one of the Stirling Martyrs. They were summoned to appear before a Convocation of bishops to be held in Edinburgh, and were tried before

Cardinal Beaton and William Chisholme, Bishop of Dunblane. The charges against them were the customary ones of assembling together to hear and expound the Scriptures, contrary to law. Friar Keilor was specially charged with being the writer of one of those plays, or dramatic "mystery," common enough at the time, on the death of Christ, and in which, under the character of the chief priests and Pharisees, he satirised the prelates who persecuted the true disciples of Jesus. This "mystery," or play, was acted publicly at Stirling on a Good Friday morning. James V. honoured the occasion with his presence, as did also a number of friars. Keilor paid dearly for his wit, for "so keen and cutting was the sarcasm it (the play) contained, that the Popish party gave themselves no rest till they had apprehended and condemned its author." The friars were charged with being present at the bridal of the vicar of Tullibody (Sir Thomas Coklaw), and did eat flesh in Lent at the wedding of that priest. There were several special indictments against Dean Forret. He was charged with having taught his parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue; and that he had questioned the right of the priest to take tithe—that is, the right to take away the best cow in the byre, and the coverlet off the best bed in the house, from the newly-made widow, a relic of feudal times, and one still insisted on by the priests in Canada and elsewhere—and actually restored them to the poorer members of his flock. His defence, which was grounded on Scripture, was received with insult, and his New Testament taken from him. Holding up the book, Lauder, his accuser, cried out: "Behold, he has in his sleeve the

book of heresy which makes all the pley (strife) in the kirk." Forret rebuked Lauder for his impiety; but his accuser denounced as heretical the conclusions he had drawn from it. All were condemned to be burned in one fire, without a place of recantation, because it was held they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresy. The dread sentence was carried into effect on the Castlehill of Edinburgh, on the last day of February, 1537-8.

DEAN THOMAS FORRET AND BISHOP CRICHTON.

Not much is known of any one of the Stirling Martyrs, except Forret. After coming home from the university, he appears to have entered the monastery of Inchcolm. Owing to some difference about what was due to the monks for their maintenance, the abbot, as a punishment, sent them to their cells to study a Latin work of St. Augustine. As is well known outside the Roman Communion, Augustine's writings are full of Gospel matter. Forret drank deep from this pure stream, and when referring to it, as he frequently did, would exclaim, "Oh, happy and blessed was that book to me." After a time, the monk of Inchcolm became vicar of Dollar. When any preaching friar came round his way, offering indulgences for hard cash, Forret would tell his parishioners that "no pardon can come to you from the pope, or any other man; pardon of sin can come only by the blood of Jesus Christ. As it is directly against the holy God we sin, so it is only the holy God who can blot out sin. When He does so He does it for His own sake, that is, in a way that glorifies Himself, showing Him to be a God of grace, who gives to sinners but never sells." It was this thought-

ful action on his part to protect his people, whereby they were sent home with empty wallets, that enraged the friars, and caused them to lodge complaints against him with Crichton, the bonhomme Bishop of Dunkeld. The bishop intimated to the vicar that he desired to speak with him. It was at the interview which followed between the two that the noted conversation took place which has been so often quoted by historians. It will stand repetition:—

"Dear Dean Thomas," said the bishop, "I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself. I am informed that you preach the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from them, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing, you may make the people think that *we* (the bishops) should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good Epistle, or any good Gospel, that setteth forth the rights of the holy Church, to preach *that*, and let the rest be."

To which Dean Thomas made answer: "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship saith, 'It is too much to preach every Sunday,' indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like."

"Nay, nay, Dean Thomas," exclaimed the bishop, "let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

"Where your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good Epistle, or good Gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil Epistle, or an evil Gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good Epistle and the good Gospel, and the evil Epistle and the evil Gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil."

"I thank God," replied the bishop, "that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was! Therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical (breviary and book of ceremonies). Go your way, and let be these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions you will repent when you may not mend it."

"I trust," replied Dean Thomas, "my cause is just in the presence of God; and therefore I heed not much what may follow thereupon."

It was not long after this interview that he was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical convocation, and illegally burned to death.

Contrast these diabolical actions of the cardinal with that of Regent Moray in the matter of the four priests of Dunblane, who, in 1569, were tried for saying mass, contrary to the Act of Parliament passed in 1560, and sentenced to be hanged at Stirling. The regent presided at the trial, and pronounced sentence; but instead of hanging them, and lolling upon soft cushions at a window across the High Street enjoying the spectacle, he commuted the punishment to standing

one hour chained to the market cross in their vestments. The only things done to *death* were their vestments and mass books, which were burned at the hands of the common dempster.

With Rome it was, as it still is, a question of Mass *versus* Bible. The popes condemn, and Papists burn, the Bible—their own Douay Bible,* although they affirm that "God is its Author"—and it must be allowed that Protestants have burned the mass-book. This was the way the Presbyterians enforced the Scottish statute against saying mass. None were put to death. If a Papist was done to death by them during the long struggle for liberty, it was the wooden image of St. Giles, which was first *drowned* in the Nor' Loch, and afterwards burned. There was no other, unless, indeed, young St. Giles, who, while being carried in procession, as shall be seen further on, was caught hold of by the heels, and a daring iconoclast, "dadding his wooden head" on the pavement, reduced him to a stump. And very few were either imprisoned or banished on account of religion by the Reformers. On the contrary, every consideration possible in the altered circumstances was given the priests, notwithstanding the past cruelty and lewdness of the dignified clergy. Thus, at the dissolution of the convents, a maintenance was set aside for both monks and nuns who could not otherwise support themselves. That this was so will be shown as we proceed, but two or three instances may be given here.

At Dundrennan, in the west, the monks received Queen Mary into their monastery in her headlong flight to England eight years after the Reformation; at

* Begg's *Handbook of Popery*, chap. iii.

Pluscarden, in the north, there were monks within its walls twenty-six years after that event; at Arbroath, in the east, monks' portions were still being paid out of the revenues thirty years after the Reformation; and the same with other monasteries throughout the land. Nor was this all. Romish bishops continued to enjoy their emoluments, subject only to the burden of the very small provision made for the Presbyterian ministers. They were also allowed to sit in Parliament. More than this. So lenient were the Reformers that all the professors at Aberdeen were Papists, and continued to teach Romish dogmas till 1566; and there were several professors of the same communion at St. Andrews so late as 1572. The Scottish Reformers thus set an example of toleration for all time. And their reward has been an avalanche of abuse and a crop of Ritualistic Adamsons.

CHAPTER VIII.

VINDICATION OF KNOX.

FOR the same reason which we have assigned for referring to the Martyrs, it is also necessary that some notice should be taken of at least two of the graver charges Tytler has levelled at Knox in his *History of Scotland.* Knox stands so securely on his own feet that to many it may appear to be a superfluous task to defend him on almost any point in his notable career; but the charges fulminated against him by Mr. Tytler are of such a nature that we cannot well pass on to our subject without at least making an effort to disabuse many minds of the cruel slanders whereby an imaginative fancy has attempted to asperse his character. By his groundless assertions, Tytler has put a whip into the hands of those who hate the very name of Knox, and they have used it unmercifully to lash and blacken the memory of Scotland's great Reformer. But John Knox stands immovable upon a pedestal of adamant—that of Truth and Right and Liberty—and all their efforts to overthrow him are futile.

THE MURDER OF RICCIO.

Many and odious are the misdeeds—the crimes of others—which are laid upon the broad shoulders of John Knox by a bigoted section of the community, but the gravest one is that "he was precognisant of the

intended murder" of Riccio (Rizzio). It is Patrick Fraser Tytler, the learned and painstaking historian, who makes this charge against the Scottish Reformer.* Let us look into it as shortly as possible. The first thing that strikes one is that the whole charge is based upon a non-official list of the conspirators which he found pinned to a letter in the State Paper Office, and which he seized upon to blacken Knox, with the joy and satisfaction of a boy who had found a long-lost toy. Feeling that his story about Riccio, without the name of Knox appearing in either "bands" or in official letters as a conspirator against the life of the Italian, was as a tale of "Hamlet" without Hamlet, he seized with avidity upon the apocryphal list.

But we are anticipating. Let us hear Tytler on the conspiracy. He says that "the first plot for the death of Riccio was, strange to say, formed by no less personages than the young king [Darnley] and his father, the Earl of Lennox." It sprang out of the former's jealousy of Mary's favourite secretary, Darnley going so far as to assert that the Italian "had dishonoured his bed." Maddened at the thought, he sent his cousin, George Douglas, "to implore Lord Ruthven [his uncle], in whom he had great confidence, to assist him against 'the villain David.'" Tytler puts this jealous feeling down to an "absurd delusion" on the part of the young king. Perhaps it was; but from his own showing, both Bedford and Randolph (the former the governor of Berwick, and the latter the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth at the Court of Holyrood), in their conjoint letter to Cecil, believed the accusation to be true, and

* *History of Scotland*, vol. iii., chap. vii.; also proofs and illustrations, No. XVI. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1872.

certainly the Darnley clan—father and son, uncles and aunts and cousins—all believed that their family had been dishonoured in the person of the monarch by "the villain David." Assuredly Ruthven must have done so, for he was very sick at the time, and Riccio was far from his thoughts; but the story told to him by George Douglas of the dishonour done to his kinsman appears to have aroused the worst passions in his nature, and these nothing but blood could allay. Randolph having become acquainted with the plot to murder Riccio—and to which he appears to have had no objection—revealed it to the Earl of Leicester. Banished by Mary to Berwick for his share in Moray's rebellion, Ruthven and Darnley called in the Earl of Morton, the chancellor of the kingdom, "to supply Randolph's place in the plot." Learning that the Parliament about to assemble was disposed to dispossess him of certain crown lands which he had improperly obtained, Morton "at once embraced the proposal for the murder of the secretary." In view of what follows, it ought not to be overlooked that Morton was an Episcopalian, and that he nominated and introduced bishops into the Church of Scotland.

Morton's first endeavour, we are assured, was to strengthen their hands by procuring the co-operation of the party of the reformed Church; his next, to follow out Ruthven's idea, by drawing in Moray, and making the plot the means of his return to power; his last, to secure the countenance and support of Elizabeth and her chief ministers, Cecil and Leicester.

"In all this he succeeded. The consent and assistance of the leading Protestant barons was soon gained, and to neutralise any opposition on the part of their

chief ministers was not found a difficult matter. They were in the deepest alarm at this moment. It was known that Mary had signed the Popish league; it was believed that Riccio corresponded with Rome; and there was no doubt that some measures for the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion were in preparation, and only waited for the Parliament to be carried into execution.* Having these gloomy prospects before their eyes, Knox and Craig, the ministers of Edinburgh, were made acquainted with the conspiracy; Bellenden, the justice-clerk, Makgill, the clerk register, the Lairds of Brunston, Calder, and Ormiston, and other leading men of that party, were, at the same time, admitted into the secret. It was contended by Morton that only one way remained to extirpate the Romish faith, and replace religion upon a secure basis: this was to break off the parliament by the murder of Riccio, to imprison the queen, intrust Darnley with the nominal sovereignty, and restore the Earl of Moray to be the head of the government. Desperate as were these designs, the reformed party in Scotland did not hesitate to adopt them. Their horror of idolatry, the name they bestowed on the Roman

* "Mary's own words in her letter describing the murder of Riccio, addressed to Beaton, her ambassador at the French court, are quite explicit upon this point. 'The spiritual estate,' says she, 'being placed therein in the ancient manner, tending to have done some good anent restoring *the auld religion*.'"—KEITH, p. 331. Writing in January, 1902, a Rome correspondent of the press says: "A discovery is stated to have been made in the Vatican archives which, if confirmed, will throw a new and interesting light upon the life of Mary Queen of Scots, which has puzzled the critics for three centuries. A whole series of letters are said to have been brought to light proving that Rizzio was really a priest in disguise, saying daily mass for the Queen in secret."

Catholic religion, misled their judgment and hardened their feelings; and they regarded the plot as the act of men raised up by God for the destruction of an accursed superstition."

Morton's arguments having prevailed, the Earl of Lennox was sent to England to reveal the plot to Moray, banished and threatened with ruin because of the forfeiture of his estates for his unsuccessful rebellion against Mary. He also agreed at once to join the conspiracy, in the hope that by doing so he would regain his lost power and estates.

We are following Tytler, and from what he says it would appear (1), that Darnley, acting under an "absurd delusion," wanted to slay Riccio because he believed the Italian "had dishonoured his bed;" (2) that Morton, Moray, and the other conspirators, approved of the meditated murder in the hope of keeping or securing political power, and especially the possession of their estates, however obtained; and (3) that the chief ministers were tempted to approve of the intended murder, in the hope that the Roman Catholic idolatry would be extinguished, and the Protestant religion put once for all upon a secure basis.

THE APOCRYPHAL LIST.

But what principally concerns us here is the assertion made by him, that "Knox and Craig, the ministers of Edinburgh, were made acquainted with the conspiracy." To substantiate this statement, he publishes several letters from the Earl of Bedford and Randolph to Secretary Cecil; also a list of the conspirators engaged in the plot to murder Riccio. It is in this list that the names of Knox and Craig appear. "It (says Tytler)

bears this endorsement in the hand of Cecil's clerk," and, except that the spelling is modernised, is as follows:—

Martii, 1565.

"Names of such as were consenting to the death of David.

"The Earl of Morton.
The L. Ruthven.
The L. Lindsay.
The Secretary.
The Mr. of Ruthven.

Lairds.

Ormiston.
Brunston.
Haughton.
Lochleven.
Elphinston.
Patrick Murray.
Patrick Ballantyne.
George Douglas.
Andrew Car of Fawdonside.
John Knox, } Preachers.
John Craig, }

"All these were at the death of Davy and privy thereto, and are now in displeasure with the Q., and their houses taken and spoiled."

In a note to this paragraph, Tytler remarks:—"It is certain that this cannot mean that all whose names are to be found in this list were personally present at the act of the murder; it should be understood to mean

that 'all these were at the murder of Davy *or* privy thereto.'"

KNOX INNOCENT OF THE CHARGE.

We simply state the fact when we say that in none of the letters which Tytler has selected and published in support of his indictment against Knox, as having been sent by Bedford and Randolph to Cecil and Leicester, does his name appear as one of the plotters, or indeed that he was in any way cognisant of the intended murder of Riccio. This of itself is remarkable, for if he knew of the intended murder, the other conspirators, and all those who wrote the letters, would know that he did; and it is all the more surprising when we are told that "the Reformer was then the great leader and adviser of the Kirk." It is unaccountable, except on the theory that there was another plot, another "band," to keep the name of the great leader out of the business, which is absurd.

The above collection of names Tytler describes as "an authentic list sent to Secretary Cecil by Bedford and Randolph, in which the name of John Knox is given as one of those who were privy and consenting to the death of Riccio." He produces no evidence to show that Bedford and Randolph did anything of the kind; they do not even allude to it in any one of their letters; it is in the handwriting of a clerk. He further assures us that these two English plotters "were intimately acquainted with the full details of the conspiracy." Yet, strange to say, in an "authentic list" sent on by them, while both the names of Knox and Craig are given, Moray's is not. Darnley's name does not appear, nor that of his father, the Earl of Lennox—

the two originators of both the plot and the murder! This shows that the list, even if authentic, is a very incomplete and imperfect one, and evidently written by one who had a confused idea of who the real conspirators were. These omissions and insertions farther show that neither Bedford nor Randolph had checked it—had, in fact, never seen it. Bedford, in a letter to Cecil, mentions that Randolph would send him a list of those engaged in the plot, which he did, but in his list the name of Knox is not given, nor is Craig's. Instead of accepting Randolph's list as the official and only authoritative one, Tytler, curiously enough, pins his faith to a list drawn up by a nameless clerk of Bedford's, in which the names of Knox and Craig appear for the first and last time; a list not initialed by either Bedford or Randolph, and for which there was no need, for the latter, as just stated, sent his own list, drawn up in his own hand, to Secretary Cecil, and of this list Bedford was cognisant. In view of the omissions we have pointed out, and Tytler's correction of the clerk's statement, it would appear as if Cecil had never seen the list written out by Bedford's clerk either; it is not endorsed by him; the omissions and error could not have escaped his observant eye. If not a forgery, it would really seem as if the two clerks had kept up a correspondence of their own, and that the list was enclosed in a letter from Bedford's clerk to his fellow-clerk in London, who pinned it on to a letter sent by Randolph to Cecil. And neither of them knew correctly the names of those engaged in the plot to murder "Davy." So much is Tytler wedded to his apocryphal list that when Morton and Ruthven, in a vindication of their proceedings which they sent to

the Earl of Bedford, deny, on their honour, that any of the Protestant ministers were art and part in the plot, or "were participate thereof," he will not believe them.

It is well known to all readers of Scottish history that Mary, for various reasons, did not like Knox. Among these, it is said that she disliked him because she believed that he was cognisant of the murder of Riccio. All Papists said and believed that. But in their vindication, Morton and Ruthven exonerate him, and explain the origin of the vile reports. "It is come to our knowledge," they say, "that some Papists have bruited that these our proceedings have been at the instigation of the ministers of Scotland. We assure your lordship [Bedford] upon our honour, that there were none of them art nor part of that deed [the murder of Riccio], nor were participate thereof." Knox was made the scapegoat, that the original conspirators, Darnley and Lennox, both Papists, might escape the after-consequences of their deed. If Mary knew that Knox was privy to the intended murder of her secretary, she would know that Craig had also been cognisant of it. Yet she was always friendly towards Craig, and continued to keep up her friendly relations with him after the murder; even his solemn protest from the pulpit of the High Kirk against her marriage with Bothwell was not allowed to interrupt them, for he was one of the two Protestant ministers whom she commanded to marry her to the earl. Had Craig been privy to the murder of the Italian, the queen would have disliked him as heartily as she detested Knox. But Mary bore him no ill-will, which shows that, as Morton and Ruthven declare, he had no "art nor part

of that deed;" and if he had none, it follows that neither had Knox.

INCITING TO MURDER QUEEN MARY.

Any effort made to exonerate Knox from the charge of murder brought against him by Tytler would be incomplete without an examination into his second attempt to fasten on the Reformer the same odious crime. Not content with charging Knox with conniving at the murder of Riccio, he must soar upwards towards a higher quarry, and charge him with urging "the absolute necessity of putting Mary to death."* So grave an allegation as this is ought surely to be founded on fact, and not on mere assumption. It is easy to make an assertion of this kind, but we require evidence. Yet Tytler does not produce a particle of proof to substantiate what he says; he rests his case solely on a letter written by Knox to Secretary Cecil—a letter in which Mary's name is not even mentioned—and his assumptions therefrom. The letter, written in Knox's own hand, is as follows:—

"Benefits of God's hands received, crave that men be thankful, and danger known would be avoided. If ye strike not at the root, the branches that appear to be broken will bud again, and that more quickly than men can believe, with greater force than we would wish. Turn your een unto your God: forget yourself and yours, when consultation is to be had in matters of such weight as presently ly upon you. Albeit I have been fremedly [strangely] handled, yet was I never enemy to the quietness of England. God grant you

* *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 318.

wisdom. In haste, of [at] Edinburgh, the second of Janur. Yours to command in God.

"JOHN KNOX, with his one foot in the grave.

"Mo [more] days than one would not suffice to express what I think."*

MARY A DANGER TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Moray, in the year 1568, after Mary had fled to England, made a secret overture to her—a scheme by which all necessity for accusing his sovereign should be removed, and an amicable compromise take place. "The Scottish queen was to ratify her demission of the crown which had been made in Lochleven, the regent was to be confirmed in his government, and Mary was to tarry in England, under the protection of Elizabeth, and with a revenue suitable to her royal dignity."† This clearly shows the spirit in which the Scots were prepared to deal with Mary, and if the feeling afterwards changed into one of policy, she had no one to blame but herself. Her intrigues and conspiracies with the Duke of Norfolk and other Roman Catholics in England, and her countenance of the most influential of the Scottish nobility in their efforts to overturn the government of her son, was the cause of the change of feeling; they also show the great danger to which the two countries was exposed by her machinations. It was in these changed circumstances that Moray proposed, for the continued safety and peacefulness of the whole island, that Queen Mary should be transferred to Scotland, the object being to remove her farther away

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 318.
† *Ibid.* vol. iii., p. 298.

from the foreign, and especially the Spanish, faction of Romanists—Philip II., the Duke of Alva, and their hired myrmidons—the regent solemnly promising that "she should live her natural life, without any sinister means taken to shorten the same." The Bishop of Ross—the restless and intriguing John Leslie, who was for a time Mary's ambassador at the court of Elizabeth—raised an outcry against such a proposal being entertained, declaring that if the Queen of England agreed to such a compact it was "equivalent to signing Mary's death warrant." This ghost, raised by an intriguing Roman Catholic prelate's imagination, Tytler prefers to the regent's solemn promise to the contrary! These negotiations seem to have been the "death-warrant" of Moray, for while they were proceeding, one of the Catholic faction—a faction headed by John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and bastard brother of the Duke of Hamilton—sent a musket ball through his body from a house in one of the streets of Linlithgow.

POPERY "THE ROOT."

Tytler admits that the language used by Knox is "somewhat dark and enigmatical," and so it is, yet he jumps to the conclusion that Mary is "the root," and that it is to her that Knox refers. But this does not follow, for such words were merely a colloquial phrase of the period. They are used by the Earl of Sussex in a letter which he sent to Secretary Maitland (Lethington), upon certain points in debate betwixt them, and have no reference to Mary. "Now, my lord (he says), to return to my former questions, *which be but branches*

from the roots, and cannot be severed from them."* At the most, *if* Knox does allude to Mary, his purpose is to support Regent Moray in his request that she should be delivered up to the Scots. The regent had arrived at the conclusion, that if Mary was sent back to her native land a great danger to herself and Elizabeth would be removed, and perhaps to himself also. *If* Knox refers to Mary, that would be his opinion also. The removal of "the root" to Scotland would have a tendency to alleviate the prevalent troubles by withdrawing her from the sinister influences of the Roman Catholics resident in England, who were fast setting her on the road to the scaffold. Without doubt the Queen of Scots was a danger to England because of the persistent intrigues of her co-religionists, in which she allowed herself to be mixed up, to depose Elizabeth and put Mary in her place, and of course to secure the sovereignty of Scotland also. Not only so, but she was a menace to the life of Queen Elizabeth, and also to Regent Moray, her natural brother. Knox knew all that quite well; but to say that he was inciting the English minister to murder her, without positive proof, is simply monstrous.

Knox's letter was being forwarded to Secretary Cecil, the trusted minister of Elizabeth, and he had to be cautious of speech. He had offended the Queen of England on a previous occasion by his tractate on the *Monstrous Regiment of Women*, and having once experienced her resentment, had no desire to incur it again. But none knew better than Knox that neither Mary nor Elizabeth was "the root" of the evils afflicting the country; for although Elizabeth quelled

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 330.

insurrections and put down rebellions, "the root" was still there, and so were the branches. That root was Popery. And it was at Popery, if at anything, that Knox desired Elizabeth "to strike." That the Papacy was at "the root" of all the political and religious discontent of his day Knox thoroughly believed, and he had no patience with Elizabeth's half-measures for reform of the Church. He knew that his demands were too democratic for her ideas of sovereignty, just as they had been for Queen Mary's. Rome, which upheld the absolute power of princes so long as they continued faithful to her, was more to the liking of Elizabeth. Yet he warns her to beware both of "the root" and its branches. Elizabeth's coldness towards the Reformation, her want of thorough sympathy with it, and her refusal to stamp out Popery by a thorough reform of the Church of England, was also at "the root" of the trouble with Knox. And he prayed that God would open her een, and grant her wisdom, to avoid the many dangers pressing upon and around her from such lukewarmness to the cause of true religion by throwing in her lot courageously with the Reformers. But she would not listen to him, and the present unsatisfactory condition of the Church she re-set up—the prey of the Jesuits, or men of a kindred spirit, who have taken up their quarters in and over-run it like rats in a cornship*—proves at once his sagacity and prescience.

* The *Methodist Times* of February 16, 1899, says:—Telegrams from Rome report that "the pope is watching the progress of events in the Anglican Church with the keenest interest, and that he can scarcely find language strong enough to describe his admiration of the Anglican bishops. He is quite confident that *with their co-operation* the Anglican Church will re-enter the Roman Communion in the days of his immediate successor."

Many Englishmen regret that Knox was not listened to, and that he was not the reformer of their Church. In the course of a short address at the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England, in London, on April 27, 1901, the Rev. Charles Williams, a deputy from the Baptist Union, said:—"I deeply regret that John Knox had not been the Reformer of the English Church. He would have been but for the interposition of Queen Mary on the death of Edward, and, probably, then England would have been Presbyterian instead of Episcopalian. John Knox did his work in Scotland thoroughly, and the descendants of Knox and his companions had from that day to this been firm Protestants, and had maintained the principles of Evangelicalism against the principles of Sectarianism or any other system inconsistent with loyalty to Christ. Oliver Cromwell, he also believed, would never have done the glorious work which he did in establishing the British Commonwealth without the aid of the Presbyterians. They owed to Presbyterians quite as much as to Cromwell and the Independents and Baptists associated with him the fact that England was as Protestant as it was to-day."

A few days before his death, Knox, in the presence of Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. James Lawson, and the elders and deacons of the parish church, among other remarkable words, said:—"I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigour and severity; but God knows that in my heart *I never hated the persons* of those against whom I thundered God's judgments. *I did only hate their sins,* and laboured at all my power to gain them to Christ. That

I forebore none of whatsoever condition I did it out of fear of my God, who had placed me in the function of the ministry, and I knew would bring me to an account.* . . . . I profess therefore before God, and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandise of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, *never indulged my own private passions* or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talents intrusted to me for the edification of the church over which I watched."† Such a solemn objuration made by one about to enter into the presence of his Creator would make any man pause before charging him with murder, and especially on mere assumption and without proof. But not so Tytler, nor his Roman Catholic admirers, who seem to have lost their heads and gone delirious with joy over his charges against Knox, one of the greatest and noblest of men.

It is interesting to observe that Alexander Pope, the translator of *Homer*, though a Roman Catholic, as is supposed, to the day of his death, held the same opinions as Knox, and was convinced that the Church of Rome had all the marks of that anti-Christian power predicted in the writings of the Old and New Testament. And though he had not the courage to profess himself a Protestant, he was firmly persuaded of the truths of Christianity. In a letter to Henry Brooke, the author of the *Fool of Quality*, he says:—"I sincerely worship God, believe in his revelation, resign to his dispensations, love all his creatures, am in charity with all denominations of Christians, however violently

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* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 356.

† M'CRIE, *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 222

they treat each other; and detest none so much as that profligate race who would loosen the bands of morality, either under the pretence of religion or free thinking. *I hate no man as a man, but I hate vice in any man;* I hate no sect, but I hate uncharitableness in any sect."

CHAPTER IX.

THE QUEEN REGENT AND THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

IN 1548 the child Queen of Scotland was sent to France, and in less than ten years she became the wife of the Dauphin. In the interval, her mother had become Queen Regent of Scotland; and John Knox, after an exile of between three and four years, recalled by the Associated Lords, landed at Leith on the 2nd of May, 1559. The Associated Lords, better known in history as the Lords of the Congregation, were representative Reformers, and should not be confounded, as they invariably are by most of our historians, local or otherwise, with the Catholic mobs that did so much mischief and damage to the monasteries at Perth, St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Musselburgh, Stirling, &c. It may be necessary to recall a few of the incidents which took place shortly before the coming of Knox upon the scene.

To sustain her power, the regent first flattered, and then betrayed the Reformers after she thought it was secure. "So completely were they duped by her consummate address and dissimulation that they complied with all her requests, restraining their preachers from teaching in public, and desisted from presenting to Parliament a petition which they had prepared; nor would they believe her to be insincere even after different parts of her conduct had afforded strong

grounds for suspicion. But, having accomplished the great objects which she had in view, she at last adopted measures which completely undeceived them, and discovered the gulf into which they were about to be precipitated." * These objects were: To support her authority against the ambition of the Hamiltons, and to secure the crown-matrimonial to her son-in-law, the husband of Mary; to silence the preachers, and to prevent the Protestants from presenting their petition to Parliament. The latter she secured by the presentation of the petition to herself in July, 1558, assuring the petitioners of her sympathy and support; the former, by a promise that their proposals would receive Parliamentary sanction. The petition was presented to her in Holyrood by Sir James Sandilands of Calder (Lord St. John), in the presence of several bishops and nobles. It contained six requests:—

1. That as by the laws of the land they had, after long debate [in 1543, the bishops stubbornly opposing], obtained liberty to read the Scriptures in their native language, it should also be lawful for them to use publicly or privately common prayers in the vulgar tongue. 2. That if, in the course of reading the Scriptures in their assemblies, any difficulty occurred, it should be lawful for any qualified person in knowledge to explain it, subject to the judgment of the most godly and most learned within the realm. 3. That the election of ministers should be according to the manner used in the primitive church. 4. That the holy sacrament of baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue, accompanied with instruction to the parties and to the Kirk. 5. That the sacrament of the Lord's

* M'CRAE, *Life of John Knox*, vol. i., p. 245.

Supper, or of His most blessed body and blood, may likewise be ministered in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds. 6. And, lastly, that the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of prelates, and of the state ecclesiastical, may be so reformed that the people by them have not occasion, as of many days they have had, to condemn their ministry and preaching, whereof they should be messengers. To remove suspicion of interested motives in making the last request, they add, "We are content that not only the rules and precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly approved laws of Justinian, decide the controversy that is betwixt us and them" (the Papists).

The Queen Regent's reply to these reasonable, and, most will admit, very moderate requests, was such as to lead them to believe that she was friendly to the Reformers' proposals, promising that she would, as soon as it was in her power, take steps for carrying them legally into effect; and assured them that, in the meantime, they might rely upon her protection in shielding them from the fury of the priests.* But the bishops were angry, as they always were when their licentious lives were cast up to them; however, the regent privately assured them that she would support their cause, and indeed entered into a secret treaty with them for the suppression of the Protestant doctrines. Thus the Catholic prelates began the battle, for the Protestants were merely petitioning for that liberty under the queen regent which the laws of the land had already accorded to them. Nevertheless, the Romish bishops proposed that "if the Reformers would

* KNOX, *History*, pp. 120-122. SPOTSWOOD, *History*, p. 119.

retain mass in its pristine honour; if they would allow supplications to the saints, and prayers for the dead, they would in return permit the vulgar tongue to be used in prayer to God, in baptism, and in the Lord's Supper." * In consequence of this concession, the queen regent ordered the Protestants "to use the vulgar tongue in prayer to God, in the sacraments, and in the other parts of worship." † This proclamation had not long seen the light when, having obtained all the objects which she desired to carry in the December Parliament of 1558 by the aid of the Protestants, she hastened to assure Archbishop Hamilton of her support in his exertions for maintaining the authority of the Kirk of Rome. His "exertions" in the previous August had been, at St. Andrews, the committing of Walter Mill illegally to the flames. In pursuance of this policy, the primate summoned the preachers to appear before him at St. Andrews on the 2nd of February, 1559, to answer for their conduct in usurping the sacred office and disseminating heretical doctrines. Here again the Catholics began the conflict. This action on the part of the archbishop, revealing as it did the insincerity and duplicity of the queen regent, coupled with the atrocious burnings at the stake, aroused in the Scottish people that spirit of determined and united opposition which ultimately led up to the Reformation, and the establishment of the Church of Scotland in the following year.

Several of the Reformers waited upon the regent, and informed her that, after the wicked cruelty in burning the aged Walter Mill by the archbishop, if

* BUCHANAN, *History*, vol. ii., p. 399.
† *Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 409.

the prosecution went on there would be a greater convocation at St. Andrews than had ever been seen at any trial in Scotland. Fearing the result, she intimated to the archbishop to stop the proceedings, at the same time, however, asking him to call a Provincial Council of the clergy for the 1st of March. She also summoned a Convention of the Estates, to be held at Edinburgh on the 7th of the same month, to advise upon the most proper measures for settling the religious differences which had so long agitated the State.

Commissioners having been appointed by the Reformers to lay their representations before both the Council and the Convention, they, encouraged by the proposals of the bishops, handed to the former body (*i.e.*, the clergy) practically the petition they had presented to the queen regent shortly before, with this important addition, that in future bishops should be admitted with the assent of the barons of the diocese, and parish priests with the assent of the parishioners. There was another paper laid before the Council of the clergy. Curious to say, it was a remonstrance from a number of Roman Catholics, "craving redress of several grievances complained of in the ecclesiastical administration of Scotland." This was a great surprise. The remonstrance contained thirteen articles, and among other reforms it asked that, for the more effectual instruction of those who partake of the sacraments, "there should be a godly and faithful declaration set forth in the English tongue, to be first shown to the people at all times;" that the common prayers and litanies should also be read in the vulgar tongue; and that the exacting of corpse-presents and Easter offerings should be abolished. But they at the same

time desired that no one should be allowed to make innovations upon the ceremonies of the Church, to speak irreverently of the mass, or administer divine ordinances without authority derived from the bishops. Thus far did they run counter to Protestant demands. Still, their protest proves that there was discontent, and a desire for reform, even within the Catholic Church itself. Further, that both they and the Protestants were agreed in their demand to have the services in the Scottish tongue. The Church Council would have none of these reforms, neither Protestant nor Catholic, and that too notwithstanding the compromise offered by the bishops to the Reformers. Instead, it ratified, in the strongest terms, all the Popish doctrines which were controverted by the Protestants: it ordained that strict inquisition should be made after such as absented themselves from the celebration of the mass; that excommunication should be fulminated against those who administered or received the sacraments after the Protestant forms; and against parents and sponsors who had presented children for baptism to the reformed preachers, and did not bring them to the priests to be re-baptised.

It soon became known that these bold and decisive steps were the result of a secret treaty entered into between the queen regent and the Council, by which the clergy undertook to raise £15,000, according to one authority, and £40,000 according to another, said sum to be handed over to the regent to enable her to suppress the Reformers."* The Protestant deputies, perceiving that they were mocked by the priests and abandoned by the regent, broke off the fruitless

* M'Crie, *Life*, vol. i., pp. 250-252.

negotiations, and left Edinburgh. "They were no sooner gone," continues M'Crie, "than a proclamation was made at the market cross, by order of the regent, prohibiting every person from preaching or administering the sacraments without authority from the bishops, and commanding all subjects to prepare to celebrate the ensuing feast of Easter according to the rites of the Catholic Church."

The regent having thrown off the mask, the fat was in the fire. Her proclamation was left severely alone, the power of the priest over the future world having become greatly discounted in Scotland, while her own authority over the people was well-nigh lost because of her dissimulation. She was angry, and in her rage summoned John Willock, Paul Methven, William Harlow, and John Christison, preachers of the gospel, to stand trial before the Justiciary Court at Stirling, on the 10th day of May, 1559, for usurping the ministerial office—thus backing up the archbishop. The four ministers resolved to put in an appearance. To prevent matters from coming to a crisis, the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon waited on the queen regent, and remonstrated with her against these proceedings. But the money of the priests had put her in heart, and she became insolent, declaring that "in spite of them, all their preachers should be banished from Scotland." Reminding her of the promises she had repeatedly made to protect these gentlemen, she coolly replied that "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises further than they pleased to keep them!" Pointing out the dangerous course she was pursuing she climbed down, and ultimately promised to take the whole matter

into serious consideration. But receiving trustworthy intelligence soon after the interview that peace had been concluded between France and Spain by a treaty in which these two powers had agreed to unite their influence to exterminate heresy, she climbed up again. She was sister to the Duke of Guise, the persecutor of the Protestants in France, and to Cardinal Lorraine, also devoted to the Papacy, and at their instance had joined the Catholic crusade against England on the accession of Queen Elizabeth. It was the policy of the Papacy that France and Scotland should be fast bound together in religion, with the object of forcing the hand of the astute English Queen, and, along with Spain, bring England back to "the faith"—*i.e.*, to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, a supremacy which her father had repudiated—and the queen regent, in order that she might fulfil her part of the compact, introduced French troops into Scotland. And so it came to pass that, notwithstanding her promise to the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, she seized upon the introduction of the Protestant worship into Perth as an excuse for breaking off negotiations, and forthwith ordered the trial of the preachers to be proceeded with.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERTH MONASTERIES WRECKED.

THE Reformers hitherto had been fighting a stiff battle without Knox, but at this crisis in his country's history he suddenly appeared upon the scene. He had gone to Geneva in 1556, and was there when sent for by the Associated Lords in 1559. On the 2nd of May he stepped ashore at Leith. His arrival was not long hid from the clergy. The Provincial Council was still sitting, and when the members heard of his being in Edinburgh they were panic-stricken, and broke up in confusion. Brave priests! frightened for one man—running away from the man whom Mr. Keenan dubs a coward!* They had more courage when, after he had left for Geneva, they, in solemn assembly, declared him a "heretic," and devoted his body to the flames, but, failing to find it, burnt his effigy instead! After fleeing from Edinburgh, they first put him to the horn, and then for the second time burned his effigy at St. Andrews. How ridiculous, yet laughable, was the conduct of the priests. He was only two days in the city, but within that short period the queen regent, who was at Glasgow, found time to declare him an outlaw and a rebel, in virtue of the sentence pronounced against him by the priests in 1556. Equally regardless of the proclamation and its consequences, he went to Dundee,

* *Controversial Catechism*, chap. iii., sec. 7.

and then to Perth, where he found the ministers and a number of unarmed gentlemen preparing to obey the summons of the queen regent to appear at Stirling. Although he knew that he was liable to arrest as a condemned "heretic, outlaw, and rebel," he did not hesitate, but resolved to accompany his brethren to assist them in their defence, and to share in their danger. But, anxious to show all dutiful respect to the regent, the Reformers sent Erskine of Dun, "a learned, pious, and amicable gentleman," to Stirling to assure her as to the entirely peaceful character of their demonstration. After the interview, Erskine wrote the Associated Lords that they need not leave Perth, the regent having assured him that all proceedings against the ministers would cease. But when the day on which the latter were summoned to appear was past, she outlawed them for not appearing! Thus the ministers were declared rebels, as Knox had long been. This was the last straw, the beginning of the end. Escaping from Stirling, Erskine rode straight to Perth, and communicated to the Reformers the regent's further treachery. The disgraceful transaction incensed the Protestants of all ranks assembled there; and Lords Strathearn, Angus, and Mearns, realising that her hatred towards the Reformers was implacable, proposed to defend themselves in the best way they could, and, if necessary, to oppose force by force.

The state of matters was thus becoming very grave, for while many were amused at her proclamation regarding the keeping of Easter, and numbers more were laughing at the contemptible Popish legends ordered to be printed by the Catholic Synod and affixed to the church doors, and which our forefathers, with

their grim and characteristic humour, dubbed the "Twopenny Faith," others hated the clergy because of their licentious lives and the onerous burdens they laid on the shoulders of the people, and were angry and scornful of both priest and regent.

THE PRIEST'S FIST.

It so happened that on the day on which Erskine of Dun brought the unwelcome news of the ministers being outlawed Knox gave an animated lecture, in the course of which he spoke of the deceptive dealings of the regent towards the Protestants. He also exposed the idolatry of the mass, and spoke of image worship as the great sin of the times, condemning the Bishop of Rome, whom he called Antichrist, in that he encouraged the people to adore the wafer-god and to worship idols. On the conclusion of the address, the greater part of the people quietly separated and went home; but a few, and "these of the lowest order," remained in the church. "Wishing to try their temper, in their presence a priest prepared to say mass, and uncovered a rich altar-piece, or rather case of idols, in which the history of many of the saints was magnificently carved. A young man who was standing by exclaimed that such a proceeding was intolerable, on which the priest struck him a blow on the ear. He in return lifted a stone, intending to hit the priest, but struck the case, and broke one of the statues."* Knox says that the priest, to show his contempt of the sermon, "would go to mass;" and that "he would open up ane glorious tabernacle which stood upon the high altar."

Thus the Catholics struck the first blow; it was a

* BUCHANAN, *History*, vol. ii., p. 404.

ST. JOHN'S, PERTH.

Catholic priest who first appealed to physical force. The enraged loiterers, all Catholics—as Knox's address clearly shows, but bitter against the priests, and especially John Hepburn, the greedy and immoral Bishop of Moray, who had long harassed and oppressed them with his exactions—did the rest. Numbers of them fell upon the priest and his precious box of dolls, while others overturned the altars, and in a short time destroyed all the trappings of idolatry within the church of St. John, but otherwise did little harm to the building. Leaving it, several ran to the convent of the Franciscans, being joined there by great numbers of the common people; and although the friars had prepared a Highland guard to provide against such a contingency as had now arisen, it could not keep back the multitude, who first attacked the images, which they destroyed, and then the "holy apparel." The poorer sort, as perhaps was natural—for they could not fail to see the luxurious habits of the friars when they stood humbly at the monastery gate—then set upon the plunder. And what did they find? They found in the Greyfriars' convent not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life. Though only eight friars were in the house, and it was the 11th of May, eight puncheons of salt beef, wine, beer, and ale, besides great store of other excellent victuals were found therein. The household furniture, the beds and bedclothing, were equal in fineness and quality to those of the greatest nobles, "sufficient to have supplied ten times their number."

The Dominicans, too, "although not quite so opulent, were yet sufficiently so to expose the falsehood of their mendicant professions to derision, which gave occasion

to a wit aptly to remark that they were not begging, but bagging, brethren." Both convents were looted, and the great monastery of the Carthusians shared the same fate. The "French" troops were adepts at looting, and with their active assistance the angry mob stripped the monasteries of all their ornaments. They also took an active share in removing the stone and wood work. We do not suppose we are doing these troops any injustice in saying that they were Catholics. All the exertions of the magistrates, supported by the ministers (including Knox) and the nobility, could not arrest the destructive work going on. The better class portion of the inhabitants now stepped in, but while leaving all the above-mentioned stuff as booty to the poor, they, to avoid even the suspicion of avarice, suffered several of the monks, and particularly the prior of the Carthusians, to depart "loaded with gold and silver plate!"* And thus Archbishop Spotswood's "holy vessels" disappeared in the arms of the priest.

We have said that there was little harm done to the church of St. John. Of all these great buildings, it is the only one which remains. It is a large structure, in Norman and Gothic, with a massive square tower rising to a height of 155 feet. The great building is now sub-divided into three places of worship.

THE CONVENTS NOT CAST DOWN.

Buchanan and other historians say that these huge monasteries were "quickly laid in ruins," and the stones, particularly of the Carthusians—a building of great strength and magnificence—taken away so completely within two days that scarcely a vestige of their

* BUCHANAN, *History*, vol. ii., p. 405.

foundations remained. A Roman Catholic writer asserts that the church was wrecked internally and the three convents sacked in one day. These statements, we think, are incorrect, for this reason, that besides the enormous amount of stuff taken out of the monasteries, there were in the church of St. John alone at least forty altars—as many altars as there were gods in Egypt, from which country, except what is borrowed from the Jewish temple, the Roman Catholic religion is derived. The interior decorations of the church were many and great, including costly wood carvings and statues. And the monasteries—three great buildings—were each of such a size that months instead of days would be taken to remove the ruins. These men had nothing but hammers and picks to knock down thick, strong walls; and with what did they remove so much material? The townspeople were not likely to have many horses and carts—and those carts without axles!—to carry off the rich stuff found in the different monasteries, nor the stones of such immense buildings, so that they must have carried these heavy things away in their aprons and barrows, or from Scone with pack horses. We question if the inhabitants of Perth, even at the present day, with all the modern appliances now at their command, could accomplish such a feat.

We think the testimony of an eye-witness of the outbreak, such as Knox, who, instead of making a bald statement, goes into details, should be accepted in a matter of this kind. Referring to the sudden outbreak of popular fury, which was wholly unlooked for, he says:—"The preachers before had declared how odious was idolatry in God's presence; what commandment He

had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry and what abomination was in the mass." He then gives an account of the incidents in the church, the rush to the monasteries, and the wealth found therein. Proceeding, he says:—"The spoil was permitted to the poor; for so had the preachers before threatened all men, that for covetousness' sake none should put their hands to such a reformation, that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat. Their conscience so moved them that they suffered those hypocrites take away what they could of that which was in their places. The Prior of Charterhouse was permitted to take away with him even so much of gold and silver as he was well able to carry. So was men's consciences before beaten with the Word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof, in which they were so busy and so laborious that within two days these three great places, monuments of idolatry —to wit, the Gray and Black thieves, and Charterhouse monks (a building of a wondrous cost and greatness)— was so destroyed that the walls only did remain of all these great edifications."* From this it is evident that the walls of the three monasteries were standing after the wreckers had spent their force, and as Knox does not say the houses were burned, and makes no mention of the roofs, the probability is that they also remained. While, therefore, the convents were plundered of their contents, both by the friars and the "rascal multitude," and "purged" of all trappings of idolatry by those who scorned to touch the filthy lucre found within them, the great structures stood practically intact. As was

* *History*, vol. i., p. 320.

the case with many another monastery throughout the kingdom, the buildings—the hulks of the great fabrics —would appear to have been left severely alone by the authorities—left to the severity of the weather—and would gradually fall into decay; the roofs would crash down upon the interior, all would fall into ruins, and become a common quarry.

That the utter impossibility of the inhabitants of Perth demolishing the monasteries and removing them and their contents within the time specified by many of our historians, and that Knox is correct, may be seen, it may be mentioned that the Castle of Jedburgh was taken from the English by the Scots during the regency of Robert, Duke of Albany. They made every effort to destroy the fortifications, but such was the strength and tenacity of the mortar, that the walls and towers seemed one mass of solid stone. The razing of the fortress had to be made a national affair. It was committed to the lords of the marches to do, and their vassals were paid for the work out of the royal customs for many a day. It need only be further stated that King Henry VIII. had given orders to build a strong fortress at Kelso, and the reason why his commands were not given effect to was that the Earl of Hertford, after consulting his Italian military engineer, found it so difficult that he could not undertake to do it within the time at his disposal. The cause of the difficulty was the vastness of the remains of Kelso Abbey, which he had wrecked. If these were not removed, "the heaps of stones, besides the confusion of the matter, should remain an enemy to the fortress; and to make the fortress so large as should contain all those superfluous buildings, should be such

a confused and *long work* as cannot be perfected in a great time,"*—not even with his entire army!

THE BISHOP'S "RASCAL MULTITUDE."

It is notorious that Knox was angry with the unruly mob. The thought of the sacking of the monasteries never seems to have crossed his mind. Their destruction, he says, was the act of "the whole multitude convened—not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the rascal multitude, who, finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the Grey and Black friars."† Mark the distinction which he makes between "the gentlemen, also the earnest professors," and the "rascal multitude"—a distinction which should ever be borne in mind when the work of the Reformers is under consideration. The "rascal multitude" would be Catholics; they could not be anything else, as "the sermon was vehement against idolatry;" but Catholics disgusted and outraged at the life led by the priests, and nothing would satisfy their vengeance but their expulsion and the gutting of their palaces. Why should Knox be blamed for all this? He was in no way responsible for the slumbering discontent which existed among the populace, the more immediate cause being the oppressive exactions of the clergy, as is evident from the hatred borne towards the Bishop of Moray, to whom we shall presently allude. The friars were rich beyond the bounds of avarice, and yet, like the daughters of the horse-leech, were never satisfied. While pretending to relieve sturdy beggars at the monastery gate, they oppressed the poor labouring people. All the aristocratic clergy

* BURTON'S *History of Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 242, 243.
† KNOX, *Hist.*, p. 128.

did not act so, nor all the "religious," but Bishop Hepburn did so in Perth, and also at Scone, and was at the bottom of the uprisings in these places. Knox was contending for purity of life and of religion, and for the worship of God in place of the mass, of saints, images, and relics, then so much in vogue. It was the Romish system which was at fault. If the preacher is to be held responsible for any untoward result of his doctrine, there can be no liberty of speech, and things once corrupted would remain so for ever. Once the teaching of Christ, as revealed in the New Testament, was departed from, no one would be permitted to revive it. It would be for ever dead. No one would be allowed to teach aught contrary to the dogmas of a united and dominant sect, no matter how stupid or corrupting they might be, such as the doctrine of transubstantiation, the enforced celibacy of clergy, and the confessional. And nothing new in science: the earth would still be flat, and not round, as it is known to be; the sun would still be going round the earth, and not the earth round the sun, as is the case. It would be a world of a few daws and innumerable jays. Clearly Knox refused to be saddled with any such responsibility. He threw the responsibility on the priests, and rightly so, for the blame was wholly theirs. If ever they had the Christian faith they had departed from it, and did not know, and cared less, for the Gospel. Their "portuise" and their "pontifical" were all in all to them. They did not preach Christ. They preferred to give long rigmaroles about saints, idols, and old bones. They preferred their great wealth, and to lead impure lives, to any new doctrines under the sun calling upon them to part with these.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR OF THE CONGREGATION.

THE BROKEN PERTH TREATY.

WHEN the queen regent heard of the riotous proceedings at Perth an angry woman was she, and having collected together an army of 8000 men—many of them French soldiers, and mercenaries in French pay—advanced upon the city, vowing to lay it waste with fire, and to take vengeance on all rebels found within it. This decided step on her part caused the Lords of the Congregation to take action, and they made preparations to defend the town. Messengers carrying letters were sent out to different parts of the country, and the Protestants had not long to wait until they had an army of 5000 men at their command. Finding them prepared to give her a warm reception, the regent tried dissembling, at which she was an adept; but while negotiations were proceeding, and before the conclusion of the treaty, the Earl of Glencairn, with 2500 sturdy western men, entered Perth to assist the brethren to uphold the Protestant cause, and to save Sanct Johnston from the flames. This great addition to the forces of the Associated Lords helped her to come to a speedy decision, and a "reasonable appointment" was agreed to, whereby she bound herself to allow such of the people as desired it the free exercise of their religion. No small victory this, besides showing the toleration of the Reformers.

To guard this freedom to the citizens, it was stipulated that no French troops should be put in garrison in the town, nor to come within three miles of it; that the Scottish soldiers should be disbanded by both parties; that the townsfolk should suffer no loss; and that all other matters of difference be referred to the next Parliament.

This treaty made, the Associated Lords quitted Perth, retiring to St. Andrews, and the queen regent took possession. No sooner was she within the town than, with her customary faithlessness, she broke the treaty. Establishing her Scottish troops as a garrison (these soldiers, being in the pay of France, were looked upon by the Reformers as Frenchmen), she put aside the magistrates, and set up creatures of her own, permitting the troops to cruelly abuse the people. When remonstrated with on the violation of the treaty, she haughtily answered "that she was not bound to keep a promise to heretics!" Neither treaties, nor appointments, nor promises could bind her; she was a clever diplomatist, but without any sense of honour, and in this respect did credit to her ghostly teachers. She sent menacing letters and mandates to Lord James Stewart and the Earl of Argyle, threatening them with the extreme rigour of the law unless they returned to her; but they treated her threatenings as the Scotch folk did her Easter proclamation: they paid no heed to them. Having restored the Catholic fetish of the mass, and arranged other things to her satisfaction, she departed for Stirling.

The gradual development of the queen regent's designs convinced the Reformers that an amicable adjustment of their differences was improbable, and

they were forced to strengthen their confederation in self-defence. From a professed friend she had, by the formation of the Continental Catholic League, and the Scottish priests' £40,000, become a declared enemy, and they could no longer hide from themselves the fact that she had formed a systematic plan for suppressing their religion, and enforcing the severe ecclesiastical laws in all their rigour. Although loth to break with her altogether, they determined to shake off the galling Catholic chain, and to take immediate steps to remove existing abuses by abolishing the Popish service, and setting up the Presbyterian worship in all those places to which their authority extended. The city fixed upon for commencing the work of reform was St. Andrews. Before leaving Perth, Lord James Stewart and the Earl of Argyle, with this view, made an appointment with Knox to meet them there on a certain day,—hence the campaign in Fife.

THE ASSOCIATED LORDS APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

In justice to Knox, it should be distinctly understood that it was not he, but the two noblemen mentioned above, namely, the Lord James Stewart and the Earl of Argyle, who were in treaty with the queen regent at Perth, and it was because of her violation of that treaty that these two noblemen, who had adhered to her hitherto, broke with her, and could never be persuaded to trust her word again. On the 4th of May they retired to St. Andrews (of which the Lord James was prior), requesting Knox to meet them in conference there. Before he reached the city, these noblemen, on their own responsibility, sent out letters to all known adherents, informing them that the regent lay at Falk-

land with French troops, and had threatened to destroy Cupar and St. Andrews, as she had threatened to expiate the sacrilege at Perth in the blood of the citizens, give that town to the flames, and banish the preachers out of Scotland. They also stated that unless supported by immediate assistance, "all the churches in Fife would be placed in a state of the utmost hazard." Clearly these two noblemen did not want the churches destroyed; what they wanted was exactly what the other Reformers desired—that the churches throughout the land should be "purged" from everything tending to idolatry, a not unreasonable demand from men holding the opinions they did, and in the age in which they lived, and who saw the deep degradation of the people from the want of Christian teaching.

In consequence of these appeals, a great multitude from all the surrounding country joined them, greatly incensed against the regent by reason of her breach of faith, and alarmed at her vengeful threatenings. They concluded that she was not only bent upon crushing the Reformers, but destroying the CIVIL LIBERTY of the nation as well. The nobles addressed themselves to the assembled crowds. No terms of accommodation could in future be listened to, they said, and no prospect of peace remained, unless one of the two parties was exterminated, or at least the strangers expelled the kingdom. Therefore they must prepare themselves to conquer or die. By these and such like speeches the minds of the people were greatly "inflamed." BUT NOT BY KNOX. It was not he who "exhorted his hearers to die like men," as Tytler assures us. It was the Lords of the Congregation who did so.*

* BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 409.

It was the public addresses of the latter which aroused the slumbering indignation of the people, including, of course, the townsfolk of Dunfermline, Crail, Anstruther, and St. Andrews.

And this was not the first time they did so. Fourteen months previously, when John Knox was at Geneva, the aged Walter Mill was, at the instance of Archbishop Hamilton, burned to death at St. Andrews. This cruel murder excited the greatest horror and indignation throughout the country. The Lords of the Congregation waited upon the queen regent, and remonstrated firmly with her; but she assured them that she was no party to such sanguinary proceedings. Failing to get redress from those in authority, they turned to the people. "Emissaries, commissioned by the Reformers, travelled through the country, exposing the superstition, wickedness, and injustice of such conduct; many of the lesser barons, and the greater part of the towns, joined the party; a majority of the people declared themselves ready to support the cause, and the Protestant lords presented an address to the queen dowager, in which they claimed redress at her hands 'of the unjust tyranny used against them by those called the estate ecclesiastical.'"* With all which John Knox had naught to do, for he was on the Continent.

CRAIL.

It was while the people were in the state of mind to which we have referred, and with which Knox had nothing to do, that he appeared in the collegiate church of Crail, on his way to the conference at St. Andrews.

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. ii., chap. iii., p. 87.

He preached in his usual animated style, spoke of the regent as a breaker of promises, exposed the idolatry of the mass, and the sinfulness of worshipping images. He earnestly besought them to break with their idol worship, and to become Christians in accordance with God's Word. In doing so, he was, as an honest minister of the Gospel, following St. Paul, for we read that he "persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods which are made with hands" (Acts xix. 26). The people of Crail were Catholics. He reasoned with them and addressed them as such, just as he had done at Perth a few days before, and at Anstruther and St. Andrews a few days later. And the Catholics of Crail, having heard the valiant and vigorous addresses delivered by the Lords of the Congregation, and convinced by Knox's unanswerable logic of the folly of praying to dead stone and wooden statues, and worshipping and adoring a morsel of bread as the Creator of the Universe, resolved to pass from these things and purify their church. This they proceeded to do by throwing down the altars, overturning the images, withdrawing the paintings, and putting out everything which led to superstition and idol-worship, but the building they left untouched. There were no less than nine altars in the church. It had also vestments, ornaments, and silver work in abundance, a list of which occurs in the records of the kirk, and printed for the Grampian Club in 1877; it is now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. And to show how misleading Bishop Spotswood's statements are, it may be mentioned that of all this stuff the honest people of Crail did not pocket one plack. No doubt there would be a Demetrius among those who made these silver

shrines to the Catholic goddess, or perhaps even the image of the goddess herself, and of whose voice the bishop must have heard the echo, but the townsfolk heeded him not. And yet to them it must have been a great sacrifice, for to their sculptured cross pilgrimages were made from all parts of the country by those in search of health. Says Sir David Lindsay of this shrine:—

> "And sum in hope to get there hail
> Rynnis to the auld rude of Kerrail."

A wicked imposition upon the poor afflicted ones, who of course were unmercifully fleeced by the Catholic exorcists and worshippers of Cybele, yclept the Virgin Mary.

The date of the foundation of the Auld Kirk of Crail is unknown, but it is believed that if it was not built by David I., or in his time by some one else, it was erected about the end of the eleventh or early in the twelfth century. The exterior is Early Pointed, but the interior is composite. The scantiness of wall detracts from the appearance of the outside of the church, but the tall windows, reaching to the eaves of the roof, help to neutralise the depressing effect, while the stately square tower adds dignity to the fabric. Inside the church is a spacious nave. A double row of imposing round pillars, having a series of graceful arches, pointed, divides it from the north and south aisles. Another graceful arch separates the nave from the choir. The capitals of the pillars are all plain, but those on either side of the dividing arch have carved ornamentation. This church was not damaged, far less destroyed, by the congregation which heard John Knox

preach; but it has suffered at the hands of the modern improver. At the end of the eighteenth century the choir was shortened, and in the first quarter of the nineteenth it was again reduced, the effect being that the choir is now less than one-half the length it originally was. At the time this latest "improvement" was effected, the south wall was rebuilt from the foundation. The Priory of Crail may have suffered somewhat in 1559. It is one of the houses of the monks which M'Crie says was overthrown; but he may have been mistaken here, as he certainly was about Lindores. Be this as it may, the fact remains that this priory, as others throughout the country, was allowed to fall into decay, for Mr. Merson states that one of the gables of the building was standing in the early part of the nineteenth century, but was cast down in a severe storm by the violence of the sea shortly thereafter.

Anstruther Church was also "purged" of all its trappings of idolatry, and the building unhurt, certainly not demolished. The "holy vessels, and whatever men could gain off," would fall, as at Crail, into the hands of the priests, but "pitiful devastation" there was none.

ST. ANDREWS.

Knox joined the Lords of the Congregation at St. Andrews on the 9th of June, 1559.* But the man who, in April of the preceding year, had committed old Walter Mill to the faggots, was on the watch. He (John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews), apprised of Knox's nearness to the city, and of his intention to preach in the parish kirk, sent a message to Lord James

* M'Crie, *Life*, vol. i., p. 265.

Stewart, informing him that if Knox dared to appear in the pulpit of his church he would give orders to his soldiers to shoot him. And he sent Colville of Cleish to tell Knox himself that on his entering the pulpit he would be saluted with a dozen culverins.* That this was no idle menace is evident from the fact that on the previous Saturday evening the archbishop entered the town at the head of one hundred spearmen, with twelve culverins. Thus the Catholics here, as at Perth and elsewhere, were the first to appeal to physical force. The noblemen consulted together, and it was agreed that Knox should not, in the circumstances in which they were placed—the archbishop with his strong force in the city, and the queen regent only twelve miles off with her army—go into the pulpit. The Scottish Reformers shrunk from exposing him to the danger he ran from the archbishop's soldiers. Knox himself did not shrink. "My life," said he, "is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek." And to the parish church pulpit he went. Had he done otherwise, had he allowed himself to be intimidated by the archbishop, the cause of reform might have been lost.

Next day he appeared in the pulpit, and preached to a numerous assembly of townspeople without experiencing the slightest interruption. Many priests were present, including Archbishop Hamilton himself, and also his armed troopers. The subject of his discourse was the Saviour's ejecting the money-changers and other profane traffickers from the temple at Jerusalem. In dealing with it, he took occasion to expose the unscriptural corruptions which had been

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 96, who gives Calderwood and Knox as his authorities for the statement.

introduced into the Christian Church under the popes, and to point out what was incumbent upon all professing the religion of the Lord Jesus, in their respective spheres, for removing them. On the three following days he addressed the people from the same place. Nearly all of them were Catholics until that hour. He reasoned and expostulated with them as Papists, and such was the influence of his doctrine, combined with the earnest letters and passionate speeches of the nobles, that "the provost, bailies, and inhabitants harmoniously agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town."*

Knox's view was that all the trappings of idolatry *within* the churches ought to be removed, but the structures should remain unscathed. This was also the earnest desire of The Congregation. Neither wanted the buildings destroyed, for the all-sufficient reason that they wanted them for the reformed services. Under the direction of the magistrates, and under the very eyes of the archbishop, the parish kirk was "purged" of its altars, idols, pictures, relics, and other superstitious gear. Several other churches, and also the Dominican monastery, and the convent of the Franciscans, were likewise purified by the citizens, who burned the whole "consecrated rubbish" at Walter Mill's cairn during the course of the same month.

But where was the brave and gallant archbishop—gallant among the fair—all this while? He was looking on! And when he perceived the zeal of the townspeople, and the crowd of volunteers, working under the direction of the magistrates, his courage failed him, and he disappeared with his troops—a strong body of

* M'Crie, *Life*, vol. i., p. 267.

horse—from the city. He went whining to the queen regent at Falkland, complaining of the indignities committed against himself and the houses of the religious by the magistrates and citizens of St. Andrews.

CUPAR MOOR.

The interview between the queen regent and the archbishop resulted in an attempt to capture the Protestant leaders, separated as they were from their followers; and with her French troops she moved on towards Cupar. "He that wull to Cupar maun to Cupar, but does not always get to Cupar." So it was with the regent and her archbishop. Swift messengers were despatched throughout Fife, into Angus, and across the water to Edinburgh, summoning the Protestants, and naming the trysting-place. On the regent's army reaching Cupar Moor, the spears of 3000 Protestants were seen, as the mist lifted, glittering in the mid-day sun, and in the midst of those spears was Knox. She didn't like the look of them, and sent out white wands. Messengers pass and repass between the leaders. The regent agrees to a truce of eight days, within which time she is to send "fit persons to treat of a lasting peace." It is the old story. Her artifices again prevail. The Protestants, as she well knew, trusting to her promise, would disband their army within that period, which they did. The great gathering separated, and those who composed it went to their respective homes, the Associated Lords, with a few hundred followers, waiting at St. Andrews for the queen regent's ambassadors of peace. They waited in vain; none of the "fit persons" whom she faithfully promised to send

came. Why? Because the Protestant army was disbanded, while the French troops were at her call. She would keep no faith with "heretics," and left for Edinburgh with her entire force. Are the "heretics" to blame if they now look to themselves? It is evident that if they do not their end is very near. Either the regent, with her mercenaries, must be put down, and with her the Catholic League in Scotland, or the Lords of the Congregation and their followers must give up all hope of Church Reformation. They decided to persevere, and with that object in view resolved to get their scattered supporters together.

THE ARMY AT WORK.

The Associated Lords, having brought their forces together again, speedily settled down before Perth, and compelled the garrison to surrender on the 25th of June. Knox was a unit in the army of the besiegers. Leaving Perth early on the following morning, after turning Kinfauns out of it, they pressed on towards Stirling. Their rapid march outmanœuvred the French, who were making for the town from an opposite direction. Entering it, they purged the parish church of all its idolatrous emblems, and, as a military precaution, did some damage to the convents. After a stay of about two days, they left Stirling for Linlithgow. On their approach, the queen regent and her French force fled to Dunbar. Taking possession, the Protestants cast down the images and destroyed the relics of mortality which they found in St. Michael's, but did not damage the edifice. Having "purged" Linlithgow, the Protestant Lords, with their small army of one thousand horse and five hundred foot, set

out for Edinburgh; but on reaching the city, they found that their work of purifying the kirks from all emblems of idolatry had been anticipated. They also found that the queen regent, with her French troops, was still at Dunbar; but she soon made her presence felt. She pushed on to Leith, and, after some fighting, compelled the Associated Lords to retreat upon Stirling. The Protestants were greatly disheartened over their defeat, but Knox, by a powerful address, put new life into the revolutionary movement. His determined attitude in this emergency saved the situation, causing the Reformers to push onwards to their ultimate goal: the overthrow of the Catholic system, and the establishment of the Protestant religion in its place.

FRANCE AND SCOTLAND AT WAR.

Those people who defame the Reformers for destroying the abbeys, and other kindred deeds, overlook the fact that at this particular period France had practically declared war against Scotland. In addition to the large number of French troops already in the country, a force of a thousand men, under the command of an Italian officer named Octavian, landed at Leith in the end of August, 1559; and on the 24th September (five days before the date of Ambassador Sadler's letter to Secretary Cecil, announcing the suppression of four abbeys), the Bishop of Amiens appeared on the scene. Accompanied by two learned doctors of the Sorbonne, his ostensible object was, as papal legate, "to purge the Church and the people from heretical pollution." But the legate had other ends in view. He was not exactly the peace messenger he pretended to be, for along with him came a French officer named La Brosse, two

hundred men, and a company of eighty horse. The bishop, the doctors, and the troops arrived in three ships on the above date.

At this important juncture the French interest was looked after by Ambassador D'Osell, and the queen regent entrusted principally to him the affairs of Scotland. He was a man of talent and energy, and, although rash and headstrong, an honourable man. There were three French leaders who conducted the military operations. These were Martignes, La Brosse, and the Bishop of Amiens. They were of a more cruel disposition than D'Osell. Besieged in Leith, they advised the regent, almost at the commencement of the religious troubles in Scotland, "to dissemble with the Congregation, to call a Parliament at either Leith or Edinburgh, and, having got the chief leaders under one roof, seize and put to death the most violent. The queen regent revolted from so base a proposal, and D'Osell compelled his less scrupulous associates to abandon it."*

Another historian says that Martignes or Martigas "advised that all the district in the vicinity of Leith should be destroyed by fire and sword, that the desolation of the country, and the want of necessary supplies, might force the Scots to discontinue the siege, a measure by which many peaceful inhabitants, and poor people, *chiefly Papists,* would have been ruined, and no advantage have accrued to the besieged, for, the intercourse by sea being open to the English, abundance could have been procured from all the maritime places of Scotland for the supply of the besiegers, while from the devastation of the farms as

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iii. pp. 110, 136.

much mischief would have been done the Papists as the Reformed. La Brosse thought that all the Scottish nobility should be cut off without distinction, and a thousand French cuirassiers quartered upon their estates to keep their vassals in subjection. This project being divulged by some intercepted letters, wonderfully increased the hatred already entertained against the French on other accounts. The Bishop of Amiens proposed that all should be seized, and without any trial put to death, who were unfriendly to the Romish cause, or whom he did not think cordially attached to the French; and he severely blamed the French soldiers for allowing those to appear openly, and with impunity, who were enemies to their king, particularly one whom he named, William Maitland, a young learned nobleman whom the bishop, because he could not refute by the arguments of the Sorbonne, was determined to silence by the edge of the sword. He upbraided the French soldiers for suffering him to live, and advised them to put him to death, which, when Maitland came to understand, he seized the first opportunity of withdrawing himself from the French and joining the Scottish army."* These efforts on the part of the Roman pontiff and the French king to stamp out "heretical pollution" roused the Protestants to action, and they retaliated, besides their military work, by "purging" the churches of all appurtenances of idolatry. No doubt a number of the cathedral-kirks suffered in the fray, but the damage done to them by the Reformers is altogether exaggerated.

* BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 431

CHAPTER XII.

WHAT BEFELL THE ABBEYS.

AFTER what has been said about Melrose, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Haddington, we need not refer to them here; but there are several others which have not been mentioned, or if so only in a cursory way, and these now require our attention.

ARBROATH.

"The ruins of Arbroath Abbey," wrote Dr. Johnson, "afford ample testimony of its ancient magnificence." It was founded by William the Lion in 1178, or perhaps a few years earlier. He laid the foundation stone himself, and when completed in 1233, the monastery, in accordance with his wish, was dedicated to the memory of Thomas à Becket. It became one of the largest in Scotland. Nearly all the architecture of the abbey, as shown in what remains of it, reveals a composite structure; it is Early Pointed, bearing traces of transition from the older Norman. The remains of decorated or the later Pointed styles are few, but these few are fine specimens. From this it is supposed that the church at least must have been of a single epoch, or nearly so, and that the earliest type of Pointed. In the end gable, above the two tall lancet windows, is seen the great wheel window, or "Round O," so frequently mentioned in connection with this abbey. The floor of the church was 276 feet in length, and 66 feet in

breadth; the transepts 133 feet by 46 feet, and the great tower rose over this part of the building to a height of about 140 feet; the western towers, 30 feet square, to about 100 feet, crowned with turrets; and the roof of the nave was supported on twenty-four massive pillars, the foundations of which remain. The various bits of the ruins standing and scattered about are interesting, but we need not enter into details.

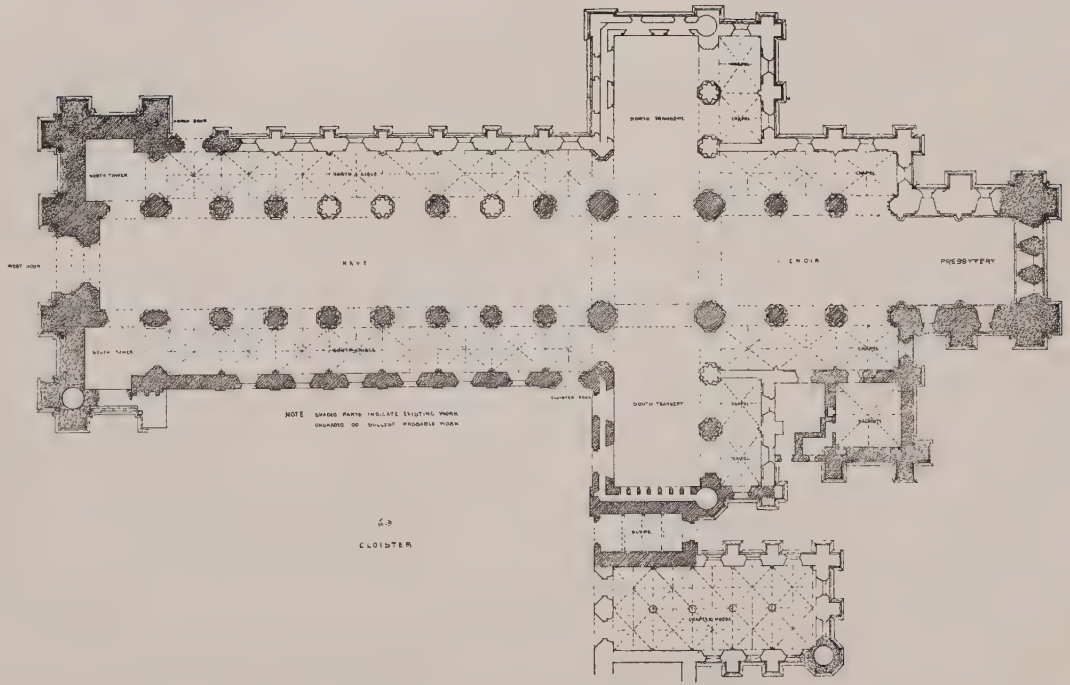
The abbey has an interesting history. The founder of the convent was interred within its walls, and a tomb near the high altar, discovered by the workmen when clearing away the rubbish in 1816, is believed to contain his remains. It was Henry, Abbot of Arbroath, a patriotic and talented priest, who put into the hands of Edward I., in 1296, the renunciation of allegiance which the Scottish Estates had made John Baliol sign. Edward was enraged. He compelled Baliol to resign the crown of Scotland, and he deposed Abbot Henry. Within this abbey the Parliament assembled in 1320, and drew up a spirited remonstrance to Pope John XXII. against the claim made by Edward II. upon the sovereignty of the realm, and to which we have already drawn attention. It was also in Arbroath Abbey that the memorable meeting of the Scottish Estates took place which affirmed the independence of Scotland. Among its many abbots, good, bad, and indifferent, was David Beaton, "that bloody wolf the cardinal," to whom we shall refer presently.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ABBEY.

Arbroath Abbey is one of the few great structures in Scotland which escaped the fury of the English invaders in the War of Independence; but in 1350 the Bishop

ARBROATH ABBEY.

From "The Visitors' Guide to Arbroath," by Brodie & Salmond



From Aitken's] GROUND PLAN OF ARBROATH ABBEY. [*"Abbeys of Arbroath," etc.*

of St. Andrews recorded that "the church of the monastery of Arbroath, placed on the brink of the sea, had suffered almost irreparable injuries from the frequent onslaughts of the English shipping." The sailors on board the English ships would be Catholics, and they did the "almost irreparable injuries" of which the bishop complains. About thirty years later, the unfortunate abbey was struck by lightning and partly destroyed, the roof falling in. The conflagration forced the monks to seek shelter elsewhere for a time. The abbey was in great measure restored by Abbot Walter Paniter, who was the incumbent from 1411 till about the middle of the century. It remained in much the same condition in which he left it till after the Reformation. Although Henry VIII. gave hearty encouragement to a scheme "effectually to burn and destroy" Arbroath Abbey because Cardinal Beaton, his great enemy, was its abbot, and other monastic houses, he was not so successful in the north as he was in the south of Scotland, and Arbroath escaped the fate of Kelso and Jedburgh.

A recent writer—and one in no way favourable to the men of 1559-60—informs us that the Abbey of Arbroath was "singularly spared by the Reformers;" but a more pretentious authority declares that "fanaticism wreaked its fury alike on the monastery and its inhabitants," after the assassination of Cardinal Beaton at St. Andrews. Both statements cannot be true, for the one is corrective of the other. Except on one special occasion, to which we shall presently refer, the abbey, after it was restored, does not appear to have suffered much from any one. It is a dilapidated ruin—of that there is no doubt—but there is no trustworthy

evidence extant to show that the "fanatics" of 1543, 1546, and 1559 were the cause of its being so. It is somewhat difficult to believe that any one of them could possibly have been a greater fanatic than the writers above quoted, or indeed than any others of a like temperament who treat of the Scottish abbeys in their works. A few reasons may be assigned for the ruined condition of this great abbey, namely, the softness of the stone, the severity of the climate, neglect, and the destructive work of man in selling and removing the materials.

With regard to the stone used in the construction of Arbroath Abbey, the greater part of it, unlike that of Melrose, is soft and crumbling, requiring special care. The climate told heavily against it; and the abbey not getting the necessary attention, it suffered badly for want of repairs. The rain soaked through the neglected roofs, and they came tumbling down; the wild and stormy winds of the North Sea beat upon the old walls, pressing the rain into the chinks, and the frost seizing on them, they bulged and fell. That this is no exaggeration will be allowed when we state that, in 1739, part of the north-east tower was blown down, and during the latter half of the same century other falls of part of the buildings have been noted.

In the year 1579, King James bestowed the abbacy of Arbroath on Esmè Stewart, shortly after he had created him Earl of Lennox. The earl put out nothing upon the buildings; instead, in the following year, the stones of the dormitory were "granted"—which in this case means sold—by him to the Town Council. With these stones the Council built a church—the Old Kirk of Arbroath—which continued to be used as such till

1892, when it took fire, and the structure was completely gutted. The site was cleared for a new church, the only thing preserved being the chaste and elegant steeple built in 1832, which forms part of the modern edifice. Building a Presbyterian kirk out of the dormitory of a convent was bad, but a worse thing followed, for the magistrates proceeded to erect a tolbooth out of other portions of the fabric, thus standing—with the aid of the secret agent of the Guises, if not of the pope *—on the same bad pre-eminence as Melrose and Musselburgh.

The inhabitants of the town and district further hastened the demolition of the abbey by turning the tottering edifice into a common quarry, even to the pulling down of portions of the walls that remained, to build their houses, byres, and dykes with. This went on century after century, till 1815, when the Government put a stop to the work of "absolute destruction" going on.

With the demolition of the Abbey of Arbroath it may safely be said the Reformers, early or late, had nothing whatever to do, but, as we have shown, the Roman Catholics had. That being so, the lamentations of Father Alexander Bailie, in his *True Information* treatise, over this abbey only show how unreliable his "true information" is.

THE ABBEY'S GREAT WEALTH.

King William munificently endowed Arbroath Abbey from national property; he even bestowed on it the village church, with its teinds and pertinents. Alexander II. and Alexander III., besides continuing the work of

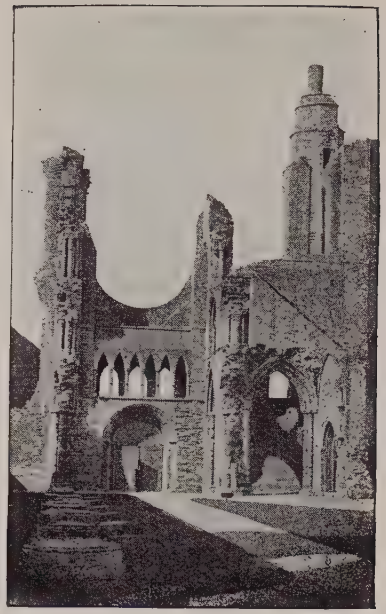
* BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. iii., pp. 36, 37; also TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 22, 23, 33.

construction, also gave of their store to the monastery, while gifts of estates, pertinents, and privileges continued to pour in upon the abbey from other donors. "The Chartulary of Arbroath Abbey is perhaps the completest collection of monastic records that we have. It extends over a period of three centuries and a half, and contains the writings by which kings and nobles and burgesses granted baronies or parishes or garden plots, moors and woods, or fishings, saltworks, ferry-boats, tithes and customs, and many other fat and pleasant things." Having such a store of good things, the jolly monks would veto nothing, but their Sybaritic cloisters would "abound in meat and drink and ease." The abbey kitchen was supplied on a bountiful scale, and the odour of it was sniffed from afar. Kings and nobles and gentry delighted to foregather round the festive board, while the gaberlunzie man with his wallet, the beggar with his staff, and the cripple with his crutches, gathered about the monastery gate in the hope of falling heirs to the crumbs which fell from the rich monks' table. There were twenty-five of these curious creatures in the convent, and the wealth of the country-side seems to have flowed into their coffers. The Chartulary attests that the consumpt of the monastery —a consumpt which, had the goods not found their way to the drones, but been left in the hands of their proper owners, the bees, would have kept scores of families in comfort—was as follows:—

30 chalders wheat.
40 „ meal.
82 „ malt.
20 pounds worth of lamb, veal, and chickens.
12,000 dry haddocks and speldings.
Fresh fish bought daily.
6 gallons honey.
6 gallons vinegar.
100 lbs. almonds.

THE ROUND O.

ARBROATH ABBEY.



THE WEST GATE FROM THE HIGH ALTAR.

From "The Visitors' Guide to Arbroath," by Brodie & Salmond.

24 swine and boars.	2 lbs. ginger.
180 bullocks.	2 „ cinnamon.
960 wethers.	2 „ cloves.
11 barrels salmon.	16 „ pepper.
1500 salted cod fish.	4 „ saffron.

CARDINAL BEATON.

What became of the immense property which belonged to this abbey? As already stated, one of the abbots of Arbroath was Cardinal Beaton. He became abbot in 1524, at the early age of twenty-nine. For a time he was a "tulchan" abbot, his uncle, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who bestowed the appointment upon him, keeping one-half of the rents of the abbacy for his own use. The cardinal had great abilities, which he used to repel the designs Henry VIII. had upon the Scottish crown, and to advance the interests of the Papal Church; but he was a great persecutor of those who held the reformed opinions, and he otherwise led a lewd and wicked life. Influential noblemen of the period charged him with, in private, "unblushingly uniting meretricious loves in wedlock, and breaking legitimate marriages at his pleasure; at home revelling with prostitutes, and abroad rioting in innocent blood."* His amours have come down to us recorded in song:

> "When like a lone star o'er the sea,
> Rose his lovely Mary Ogilvy."

Mary bore him at least three sons—James, Alexander, and John—who were made "legitimate" by letters under the Great Seal in 1539. This pure lily of the

* BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 359.

Romish priesthood, "separated from the gratifications of the world," had daughters also. One of them, Margaret Bethune, was married to David Lindsay, eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, and at the wedding, which was celebrated with great magnificence at Finhaven Castle, the cardinal bestowed upon the bride a tocher little inferior to that of a princess. His favourite concubine was the Mary of the song. She was a daughter of Sir James Ogilvy of Airlie, who was probably the hereditary bailie of the convent. The cardinal established her and the children she had borne him in Ethie Castle, and for support bestowed on her the estate of Hospitfield, besides alienating in her favour several other possessions of the abbey. He used, or rather abused, the abbacy wholly for his own personal ends, and was the last abbot to discharge the clerical duties of the office.

Three months after the fatal 28th of March, 1546—as the possible result of a political plot instigated or encouraged by Henry VIII., a schismatic Catholic monarch; but more probably as the direct result of a hucksterer's quarrel, and neither of religion nor politics, in which the aggrieved party, Norman Lesley, declared the cardinal had cheated him—the dead body of the murderer of Wishart hung over the battlements of his palace in St. Andrews, naked and ghastly. Blood cried for blood. But was it for Pope Paul III. to grant absolution to the slayers of the cardinal? Yet he did so, and that too after he had passionately demanded the regent to take vengeance upon the assassins. And not only to the regent, but to France did he make the same demand. Regent Arran laid siege to the palace, but failed to reduce it. The conspirators, however,

"consented to deliver up the castle as soon as a Papal absolution was obtained for the slaughter of the cardinal; they stipulated for a free pardon; and, in the interval between the commencement of the armistice and the arrival of the absolution, insisted on retaining the fortress, and keeping possession of the governor's son as a hostage for the performance of the treaty. . . . Trusting to the support of England, they (the conspirators) had, on frivolous grounds, refused to abide by their agreement *when the Papal absolution arrived from Rome;* and the governor, convinced that he had been the dupe of a convention which they had never meant to fulfil, was deeply incensed against them." *

After the death of the cardinal, the abbacy passed through several hands, but fell to the house of Hamilton, Lord John being abbot of Arbroath. He is known in history as Lord Arbroath, and was the second son of Regent Arran; but the Hamiltons, including Lord John (whose possessions are said to have been the largest in Scotland), were proclaimed traitors, and their estates confiscated in 1579. Instead of returning the abbey lands to the Church, the king gave them, as above stated, to Monsieur d'Aubigny (Esmé Stewart), "a concealed papist."

CAMBUSKENNETH.

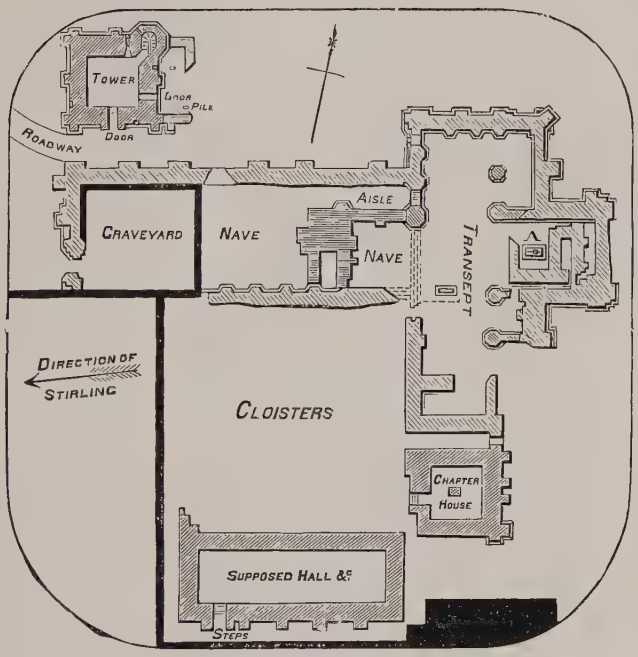
This abbey, founded by David I. in 1147, was a fine specimen of Early Pointed, although the older and only entire remaining part of the great structure, the grand four-storeyed tower, 70 feet high and 35 feet square, is

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iii., pp. 51-53.

of a more massive and Norman-like character than the pointed architecture generally assumes. It was filled with a company of monks of St. Augustine.

HISTORY OF THE ABBEY.

The history of this abbey, as is the case with almost all the monasteries, is interesting, but we need not delay by entering into details. It may be stated, however, that it was here the notable interview, in 1306, between Robert Bruce and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, took place, when they entered into a mutual compact, and where the future king decided to try conclusions with Edward I. of England. The monastery must have been patched up after Edward burned it—he died in 1307—for in 1308 a meeting of the barons favourable to the cause of Robert Bruce was held within its walls. And in 1326 a great assembly of the nobility, clergy, gentry, and burgesses was convened in it, and swore fealty to David Bruce, as heir-apparent to the throne, in presence of his father; also to Robert Stewart, grandson of the king, in the event of David dying without issue. This is the first parliament in which burgesses are mentioned as having a seat in the national council. It granted to the king, during life, on account of the losses he had sustained in the war, a tenth of the rents of all lay lands in the kingdom, the "religious" taking care to get off scot-free. Abbots Patrick Panther and David Panther of Cambuskenneth were both accomplished scholars. The former was secretary to James IV., a privy councillor, and ambassador to France, where he died in 1519. The latter was also a privy councillor,



From Shearer's] [*"Guide to Stirling and Neighbourhood."*

GROUND PLAN OF CAMBUSKENNETH ABBEY.

a secretary of state, and a frequent ambassador to foreign courts. He was also Bishop of Ross, and a strenuous opponent of the Reformation. He died at Stirling in 1558. It was an abbot of Cambuskenneth, Alexander Myln or Mill, who was the first president of the Court of Session on its being reconstituted by James V. in 1532.

WEALTH OF THE ABBEY.

From the original grants of land, feu duties, and other revenues made by the king out of the national property, and large grants by succeeding monarchs and members of the nobility, it became one of the largest and wealthiest monasteries in Scotland. Its ancient charters,* which are still extant, prove this to have been the case, for they show that it held valuable estates and other property in various parts of the country. The monks were adepts at securing goods of all kinds, and also at getting bulls from Rome, not to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but to protect the property they had secured; and the "canons regular" of Cambuskenneth were not behind in this respect. Several bulls were issued to them, at their own request, for that purpose—bulls which even permitted them to lift the temporalities pertaining to parish churches, and thrust in "tulchan" vicars, or even bishops, as Pope Gregory's bull permits and testifies, to the cure for a trifle annually. Oftentimes it happened that, for the sake of appropriating the temporalities of benefices,

* The Chartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey, written in a variety of hands upon 174 leaves of vellum, is still extant, and is preserved, along with several others, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Of this book a *facsimile* was, at the suggestion of the late Marquis of Bute, prepared and published in connection with the Grampian Club in 1874.

the chapter delayed to appoint vicars, and sometimes not at all. There is a clause in one of those bulls which should not be overlooked, as it shows the surreptitious way in which Popery was introduced into Scotland in opposition to the wishes of the Culdees, a body independent of Rome, but who were suppressed by the sons and successors of Malcolm Canmore, and their property transferred to the newcomers. It is in the bull issued in favour of the abbey by Celestine III., and grants to the monks of Cambuskenneth liberty to shut their doors, to ring no bells (and what is a priest without his tinkle?), and to sing in a low voice at their various services, in fear lest they should be interrupted, or even incur a national interdict.

A bull, dated May, 1195, was obtained from Pope Celestine, and another from Innocent III. in 1201, enumerating the property and immunities of the abbey at these respective dates, protecting the same, and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all persons from withholding from the priests any of their just rights, or disturbing them in the possession of them. As enumerated in those bulls, the possessions of the monastery were somewhat as follows:—

Estates—

Ayr, lands at.
Balcormack, half a carrucate or ploughgate of land, with meadow pertaining to it.
Bandeath, lands of.
Binning, half a carrucate of land, with the pasturage of 500 sheep and 20 cows.
Cambuskenneth farm and mill.
Colling, or Cowie, the lands of.
Dunipace, two oxgangs of land.
Duneglin, lands at.

Kersie, lands of.
Kettleston (near Linlithgow), farm and mill.
Lands upon the Forth, near Stirling.
Malar (near Touch), lands of.
Redinch (island in River Forth).
Tullibody, lands of.

Tofts (or feus—the ground on which a house is built)—
One full toft in Crail, Haddington, Linlithgow, Perth, Renfrew, and Stirling.

It had the tenth of the feu-duty of the lordship of Stirling, forty shillings and twenty kebbucks of cheese out of the king's revenues at Stirling, and fifty shillings out of the Perth customs; it had the Forth fishings between Cambuskenneth and Polmaise, and between Kersie and Tullibody; half of the skins and tallow of all the beasts slain for the king's table at Stirling; a saltpan, with land, &c.

Kirks and Chapels—
Alveth, with all pertinents attached to it.
Clackmannan, with forty acres of land and croft.
Gleninglefe (Gleneagles), with land and other pertinents.
Kincardine, with land and other pertinents.
Kinclething, with land and other pertinents.
St. Ninians, with its chapels of Dunipace and Larbert, all its other chapels and oratories, and lands, tithes, and other pertinents.

"During the space of two hundred years after its erection, the monastery was almost every year acquiring fresh additions of wealth and power by donations of lands, tithes, patronages of churches, and annuities, proceeding from the liberality of kings, earls, bishops, and barons, besides many rich oblations which were daily made by persons of inferior rank." The other monasteries throughout the kingdom were equally alive to their own interests, and it is little wonder that the Scots, as a people, were poor.

The question of stipend for the Reformed preachers

came to a definite head in 1562, when it was settled that they were to have a third of the revenues of each ecclesiastical benefice. To ascertain the amount of these revenues, an order was issued by Queen Mary and the Privy Council that an account be obtained of the incomes of the various houses of the religious throughout the realm. This included parish kirks, abbeys, priories, &c. The revenues of Cambuskenneth Abbey were ascertained to be about:—

£930 13s. 4½d. Scots money.
11 chalders, 11 bolls, 2 firlots wheat.
28 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks, 2 lippies bear.
31 chalders, 6 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks, 2 lippies meal.
19 chalders, 15 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks, 2 lippies oats.*

The abbey had numerous casualties, but of these no notice is taken, for the very good reason that those parties who now had possession of the lands did not want to be reminded of them. And for the same reason tacksmen would withhold rents, having easily arrived at the conclusion that having paid rent during years of possession, as their forebears had also done, the farms were now their own. It therefore follows that the whole revenues once belonging to this great abbey are not given in the foregoing statement.†

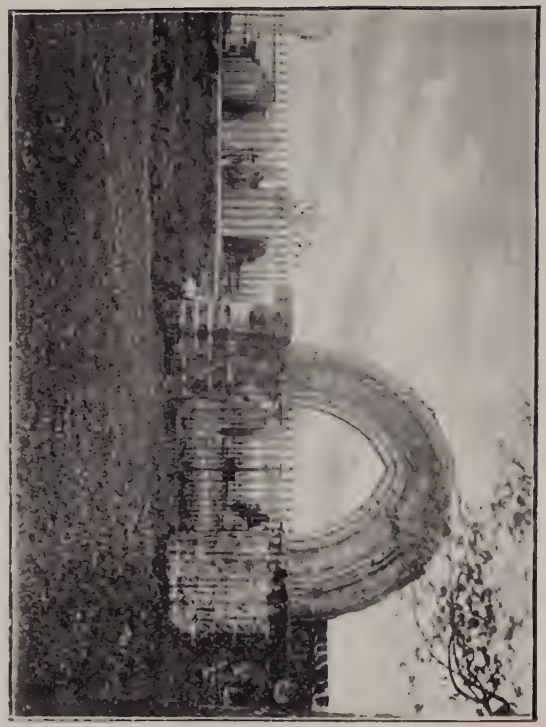
THE HEAVY MAR WALLET.

"Great dilapidations had been made upon benefices, not only by powerful laymen, who had seized upon portions of ecclesiastical benefices during the commotions of those times; but also by the Popish clergy,

* Appendix to Book III. of Keith's Church History, p. 182; but Keith has to confess that he was unable to read the exact sums in the manuscripts he consulted.

† NIMMO, *History of Stirlingshire*, vol. i., pp. 105-132.

THE DOVE-COT.



CAMBUSKENNETH ABBEY.

Only remaining ruins. The Tower, which has been renovated, is all that is left entire of this once magnificent edifice.

who, in the view of a change of religion, had disposed of parts of the revenue." Cambuskenneth Abbey is a case in point. David Panther was the last ecclesiastic who held the office of abbot of Cambuskenneth. He was his own commendator, and at his death the affairs of the abbey fell into the hands of Lord Erskine, governor of Stirling Castle. How they did so is not very apparent, but the probability is that he and the abbot had arranged matters. At all events, he had the disposal of its revenues at the Reformation, and is said to have appointed his nephew, Adam Erskine, commendator after that event. In 1562, Queen Mary affirmed the usurpation, by granting not only a large portion of the lands of the monastery to him, but Cambuskenneth Abbey itself. With the stones of the monastery he built a palace at Stirling, the queen having made him Earl of Mar. For the destruction of this abbey the Catholics must take their share, in that they took the estates and buildings out of the hands of the Church and granted them to a layman, one of, as they say, "the corrupt minions of unprincipled governments," in this particular case the government of Mary, Queen of Scots, and all the world knows she was a Papist. Her son, James VI., after he had deserted Scotland for the richer prize of England, conferred, in 1610, "all the lands which had formerly belonged" to Cambuskenneth Abbey on John, Earl of Mar, son of the regent; and as if that were not enough to support the grandchildren of Esmé Stewart, his dead favourite, he threw into the Mar wallet the temporalities of the Abbey of Dryburgh, and also those of the Priory of Inchmahome, including the fine estate of Cardross. The barony of Cambuskenneth, in which the convent

stood, was settled by the earl upon Alexander Erskine of Alva, his brother, and there were lay abbots of Cambuskenneth of the Mar family until towards the end of the sixteenth century. There were also abbots of Dryburgh, Dunfermline, Kinloss, &c., till about the same period. It may be stated that it was from the Alva branch of the Erskines that the Town Council of Stirling, as the patrons and trustees of Cowane's Hospital, bought the lands of Cambuskenneth in 1709. The Council in 1864 spent upwards of £1000 in pointing and otherwise repairing the tower and in laying out the grounds. This secures the safety of the tower for many years to come.

THE REFORMERS AND THE DEMOLITION OF THE ABBEY.

The Erskines, as commendators and proprietors, drew the rents of the estates pertaining to the abbey for generations, but did very little towards the upkeep of the structure. Instead, they helped considerably to cause it to disappear from off the face of the earth. Knox denounced Mar's vandalism as an act of sacrilege. Here we find him, in pursuance of his policy of preservation, protesting against the wanton destruction of Church property, and that a monastery, "the nursery of superstition and idolatry!" So incensed was he that he declared no good could come out of such a ruthless act. And neither it did, for, although long used as a residence, the intended palace was never completed, and part of its site is now included in the kirkyard. Yet the minister who made this strong protest against the action of one of the most powerful noblemen of his day is singled out by Catholics as the man "famous for his Gothic devastations and burning of churches, who,

under pretence of religion, destroyed the ancient monuments of our faith." This is an assertion which, as we shall see, Robert Baillie characterised bluntly as a lie! There is no proof that Knox burned even one church, and the infamous charge is only equalled in ignorance by its maliciousness. This very Abbey of Cambuskenneth was, as already stated, first pillaged and then burned by Edward I. in 1303-4, and, after being restored, was again plundered and set on fire by Richard II. in 1385. It was never the same afterwards.

The Reformers could not have done much damage to this great fabric in 1559. In that year, at the very time when it is said they destroyed the abbey, their army had but finished a long and most fatiguing march through the defiles of the Ochils between Perth and Stirling. They could not have been more than two days in the latter town, for on the third day they left for Linlithgow. Yet we are asked to believe that in that short period of time men who were in need of rest demolished not only two great monasteries in Stirling, but the huge abbey of Cambuskenneth as well. We question if the Titans of old could have accomplished such a feat, far less a much-fatigued and straggling army of inexperienced country folk. It would have required dynamite to do such rapid work. Knox would never have countenanced, far less sanctioned such a proceeding. The estates having been alienated from the Church, the more immediate and necessary repairs would not be attended to; falling into decay, the huge structure fell a prey not only to Mar but to the other inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who took away the stones and built houses, barns, and dykes with them.

A PASQUINADE.

Like other grabbers of Church lands, Mar could not abide the idea that the revenues derived therefrom, and especially the rents arising from the endowments pertaining to the monasteries and other religious foundations, should be divided, and appropriated to the support of ministers, the school, and the poor, as Knox desired. He was much under the influence of Morton, and is said to have been of a "meik and humaine nature;" yet he was one of the chief noblemen who refused to subscribe "the Discipline," and the Reformer assigns two reasons for his refusal:—"First, He has a very Jesabel to his wife; and, second, If the poor, the school, and the ministry of the Kirk had their own, his kitchen would want two parts and more of that which he unjustly now possesses." But the grey mare was the better horse, for his wife's passion for money was well known. We can imagine the table-talk:—

"Well, Annabella, these kippers are very good; but I'm filled with astonishment when I think how and where you get so many of them. They're never off the table."

"O, well, they are good kitchen, and they are economical."

"Truly, they may be good kitchen; but how you can say they are economical I fail to see."

"They are economical, John, because I get a lot o' them for little siller."

"That may be, but I do not think they are economical, for these reasons:—First, there's the head, which nobody can eat. Second, there's the tail, not a bit better, even worse. Third, there's the skin, too tough to swallow. Fourth, there's the bones, too numerous to

Photo. by] DUNFERMLINE ABBEY. *[Mackie, Photographer, Dunfermline.*

number, and too hard to be of any use. Fifth, there's the brock, which, when all heaped up, is more in bulk than the herrings when whole, and can't be eaten either, —all which reasons go to prove that kippers are not economical."

"All very true, John, but—First, there's the saving o' my fire. Second, there's the saving o' my time in cooking. Third, the brock feeds the sow. Therefore, kippers *are* economical!"

DUNFERMLINE.

This abbey may be said to have been begun with the erection of the Old Abbey Church, founded by Malcolm Canmore about 1071. We need not enter into details, but it may be stated that the church and monastic buildings were again and again extended and enlarged under successive monarchs, until, under Alexander III., the abbey became one of the largest in Scotland. Of such dimensions was this great convent of the Benedictines, that it is said three kings with their retinues could have been lodged within its strong walls without in any way interfering with the regular routine of the institution. The Scottish Parliament frequently held its sittings within the great hall. This magnificent abbey reached the height of its splendour and greatness under Alexander. It was destroyed by Edward I. He took up his quarters in the monastery in November, 1303, and remained there during the winter. He and his nobles had enjoyed the hospitality of the monks for three months, and he rewarded them when he left in February by setting fire to their house, and also the palace. He spared the Abbey Church, both East and West, but all else pertaining to the convent was wrecked.

Having command of great wealth, the monks set to the work of restoration. In this they were helped by King Robert Bruce, who did much to restore the monastery, and although it never attained to its former magnificence, it continued to be a great institution. Following the ecclesiastical polity of David, Dunfermline had usurped the place of Iona in the affections of the king and the nobility, and became the depository of the dust of the noble departed, to whom splendid monuments had been set up in the interior. Bruce himself lay there, and "the Shrine of St. Margaret" became ever more and more enriched, till it looked more akin to a heathen temple than a Christian fane.

Of all the immense structures which went to make up the Abbey of Dunfermline, there remain the nave, which, with its double row of five grand pillars and arches, is allowed to be one of the finest specimens of a Norman interior in the kingdom; the ruins of the refectory, and of the palace. The main western doorway, a spacious portal of five recessed arches, is preserved entire, and is of interest, partly owing to the elaborate ornaments of the arches, and partly to the twelve grotesque faces alternating with carved floral designs on the outer arch.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CHOIR.

The Reformation is held responsible for many things with which it had little, if anything, to do, and it is blamed for the destruction of the Old Eastern Church, or Choir, of Dunfermline, a modern edifice taking its place in the first quarter of last century. This portion of the great Abbey Church was wrecked in 1560. Not only were the monuments over the tombs removed and

broken, the sacred images smashed to pieces and burned, but, so it is said, the great building itself was "pulled down" by the mob. If so, these people would be Roman Catholics—enraged Catholics, whose long pent-up passions and hatred of the priests, now that the power of the monks was broken, had found vent, and not being able to punish individuals, put out their vengeance upon inanimate objects, sacred, as they thought, to the priests. But how any mob, Catholic or Protestant, with only crowbars and hammers to work with, could do so in a few hours, on walls four or more feet thick, is not easy to conceive. The tale appears to be founded on a statement made by the English ambassador. Writing to Cecil on the 29th of September, 1559, Sadler, in announcing the arming of the Lords of the Congregation (and his information on the matter is from his spy), says:—"He (the spy) told us also that they had suppressed the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline, and burned all the images, idols, and Popish stuff in the same."* It will be observed that the responsibility for the transaction is placed on the Lords of the Congregation; also, that nothing is said about the destruction of the church. It would, therefore, seem that while the Reformers turned out the monks, "purged" the church and burned the ecclesiastical paraphernalia, they did not damage the building. The choir of Dunfermline church may have received damage from the "mob" after the messengers of the Associated Lords had finished their commission; but the story of its demolition is at variance with the action taken by the

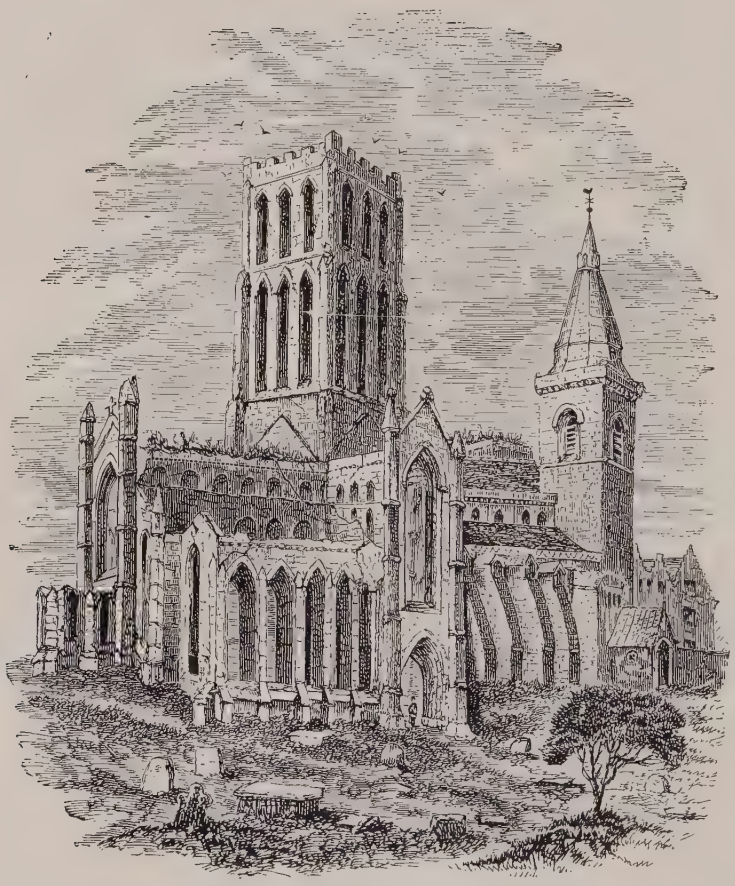
* BURTON, vol. iii., page 353 (note), who gives, as his authority, State Papers, i. 468.

General Assembly in 1573 and 1588, to which we shall immediately refer.

THE PRESBYTERIANS SAVE THE NAVE.

The Reformers fitted up the nave, and used it as a Presbyterian place of worship in 1563. The General Assembly, at their meeting in 1573, had the matter of the repair of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline before them; and again, in 1588, the Assembly appealed to King James VI. to avert the ruin which threatened, among many others, the same great edifice. The Reformers did not encourage the wrecking of kirks; on the contrary, they did all in their power to preserve them, doing their utmost in a turbulent and transitional period, during the fall of a great politico-religious system, to preserve the parish kirks from destruction. Queen Mary, King James, and those nobles who seized upon the landed property of the Church, were the responsible parties who allowed Dunfermline Abbey, as well as many another, to become a common quarry —which it continued to be till 1818—and not the Reformers. It is curious to note that Sir Walter Scott, charmed with its beauty, was tempted to ask, and obtained, a piece of mediæval work of oak in the roof, and it now adorns the ceiling of Abbotsford. The oak pulpit of the old church was also handed over to him, and may be seen in the hall of the same house. Nobody seems inclined to blame Sir Walter for doing so —not even Lockhart, his biographer, who, however, can denounce the Reformers for their treatment of the abbeys—yet poor, ignorant peasants and town labourers are called all sorts of names, from rogue to iconoclast, for doing something very similar.

Photo. by] DUNFERMLINE ABBEY, INTERIOR. [*Mackie, Photographer, Dunfermline.*



RUINS OF THE ABBEY CHOIR, AULD KIRK, &c., DUNFERMLINE

CIRCA A.D. 1670.

(From Old Sketches and Plans.)

Reproduced from Clark's "Guide to Dunfermline."

ITS GREAT WEALTH.

Dunfermline was a wealthy abbey. Its Chartulary* shows that it possessed five-and-forty estates in the old county of Fife, besides those in ten other counties. If not the actual proprietor, it was the superior of the towns of Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, and Musselburgh. It owned thirty-seven kirks, with the lands, pertinents, and teinds attached to them. And it had no end of privileges, such as a right to take from the king's forests all the wood it required for fuel; a right to half the skins and fat of all animals killed at festivals between Forth and Tay, and so on. After passing through various hands, the temporalities were granted by the crown to Sir Alexander Seton, a Papist.

IONA.

THE ABBEY SACKED BY THE ENGLISH.

In 1335 the cruel Earl of Cornwall, brother to King Edward III., wrecked a number of convents and churches in the west of the kingdom, burning to death the unhappy wretches who had fled to those houses for sanctuary; while the English fleet ravaged the coast. The religious houses on Iona's lonely isle would appear to have been plundered of their valuables, sacked and otherwise destroyed, by Edward's fleet in this year. Iona had been robbed of all its precious treasures by the Norsemen in 802, when they murdered some of the

* The Chartulary of Dunfermline Abbey is still extant. It is a folio volume of about 350 pages, vellum, and, written in a variety of hands from the middle of the thirteenth century down to the middle of the sixteenth, contains, besides other interesting matter, over six hundred deeds relating to property. The language used is Latin, but a few of the deeds are in quaint old Scotch. The book is preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

monks, and forced the remainder to seek safety in flight. They burned the recluses' books also, or threw them into the sea. The Norsemen made a second raid in 808, when they again set fire to the dwellings, which at that time are supposed to have been of turf and wattles. But this was the first time the English laid violent hands upon Iona. The buildings demolished were the abbey and nunnery, which Reginald, Lord of the Isles, erected in 1202-3. There is no trace of the stone church built by Abbot Cellah after the Norsemen sacked the place in 808; and St. Oran's Chapel, long believed, on the authority of Dr. Reeves, to have been erected by St. Margaret, is now considered to be of later date, and no older than the beginning of the thirteenth century.

THE ABBEY RESTORED.

The monastery was rebuilt by the Paisley monks during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on the walls of the edifices erected by Reginald, and destroyed by the English fleet. The figure sculpture, though sparingly used, is quaint, the animal forms are grotesque, and the Bible scenes are treated in a way which is amusing. One of the latter bits represents an angel weighing souls in a pair of scales, one of which is held down by a devil's paw. The sculptured capitals, the tracery of the windows, and the carved crosses and stones, are all fine specimens of fifteenth century Norman work.

TRADITIONAL MYTHS.

Referring to the demolition of churches and convents by the Protestants in 1559-1560, and deprecating the exaggerated notion of the destruction perpetrated by

them, Burton remarks:—"Round the ruins of multitudes of Gothic churches there crowd traditions of the righteous Reformers destroying the citadels of superstition and infamy. Even in far Iona we are asked to believe that a mob tore to pieces great masses of Norman masonry, and that they even carried off some hundred or so of monuments."* In justification of Dr. Burton's scepticism, it may be stated that in an illustrated booklet, printed and sold on the island, it is stated that "Iona had 360 crosses; two only now remain entire. At the Reformation, in 1617, many were broken, carried away, or thrown into the sea."† Other writers say that the crosses, by order of the Synod of Argyle, were thrown into the sea "at the time of the Reformation." Evidently, this must have been the Scottish Solomon's "Reformation," when he attempted to set up Episcopacy in the land in 1617, on paying his tardy visit to Edinburgh in that year. The Scottish Reformation took place in 1560, yet the Reformers are execrated for a transaction which occurred half a century later. It may also be stated that Bishop Andrew Knox convened his famous conference with the Highland chiefs at Iona in 1609, and, by the celebrated statutes of I Columbkill, attempted with indifferent success to bring them under the influence of law and order. Also, that the nuns were undisturbed and permitted to remain till about the year 1617. All which shows that "tradition" is not a safe guide to follow. The present ruinous state of the buildings is not due to any action taken against them by the Reformers, who, as usual, are charged

* *History*, vol. iii., p. 352.
† ANDERSON'S *Iona Autograph Album*, p. 32. Edition 1891.

with doing so, and bitterly maligned therefor, but to decay, nothing having been done by the parties who held the abbey lands to protect them from the weather. It was not turned into a quarry even, for farmers' houses and farmers' dykes are sparse on the island. Time and neglect, the rain and the frost, having done their fell work, the beautiful fabric fell into ruins. Yet we have brusque Dr. Samuel Johnson declaring that "the malignant influence of Calvinism (that is, John Knox) has blasted ceremony and decency together; and if the remembrance of Papal superstition is obliterated, the monuments of Papal piety are likewise effaced"—this from a highly-educated gentleman, when it was the malignants of his own sect, not to speak of his own people, who were the real destroyers of the abbeys of the Western Isles.

THE RESTORATION OF THE CATHEDRAL.

In 1770, Pennant found the cathedral roofless and otherwise dilapidated, and it was only by paying an easy-going native to remove the rubbish in the chancel that he was able to get even a glimpse of Abbot Mackinnon's tomb. The island was granted by the crown, in 1648, to the Marquis of Argyle. The late Duke of Argyle did in some measure preserve the ruins from falling further into decay, and in 1899 made them over to the Church of Scotland. Notwithstanding the ill-usage the fabric has sustained during the course of centuries of neglect, the walls are still in such an excellent state of preservation, especially the chancel, that a roof and glazing ought to preserve it for centuries to come. And that is what the Presbyterians are doing. They have begun the work of restoring

IONA CATHEDRAL.

the ancient cathedral, and that once done they will preserve the structure as well, if not better, than any other sect could or would do.

THE IONA CROSSES.

It is taken for granted by ill-informed Jeremiahs that all the 360 crosses were "Christian" crosses, but that does not follow, for the cross was the sacred symbol of the Druids, and they were on the island until the sixth century. It was not till the twelfth century that the old Celtic art lost its sway, when the Culdees were succeeded by Romish monks. The Druids, both before and after the beginning of the Christian era, had a church and college on Iona, and it was on the ruins of the Druidical system that Columba, in 563, set up a purer faith in the island, with, of course, all the prestige of a place so sacred to the ancient religion. Although the Columban clergy held some tenets peculiar to the Roman Church, in their teaching they adhered more closely to Scripture; and they formed a distinctly non-Roman Church, with, although monastic, no forced celibacy, until the Papal authorities, becoming jealous of their three hundred churches and one hundred schools, suppressed them with the aid of David I., "the sair sanct for the croun," and a very superstitious carle. The Druidical priests had great power, and excommunicated all who refused obedience to their decrees. The Druids were worshippers of the heavenly bodies, and sticklers for the humanities of religion, as were the Phœnicians, and offered up human sacrifices to mollify the sun-god, for which the wafer is the modern substitute. The word "oran" signifies the priest of the sun, and it is suggestive that Oran's Seal

—the ancient seal of the monastery of St. Columba—shows the sun's rays streaming down upon a circular-tonsured monk, with nimbus and cowl: just the same sort of being as may be seen in Romish convents to-day.

Human sacrifices have long ceased to be offered up in Britain, but the "unbloody sacrifice" is still with us, so is the cross, and the cursing also, as witness Cardinal Vaughan's malediction against Dr. St. John Mivart in the spring of 1900—a curse which extended beyond the grave, for, honest and fearless Mivart dying a few weeks later, Vaughan's priests, like true children of Oran, refused to bury the body.

KINLOSS.

Kinloss Abbey, in Moray, comprised a large cruciform kirk in the best style of Early Pointed, a cloister court and monasterial buildings, and an abbot's house; the foundation-stone was laid in 1151. It was a large and wealthy monastery, the estates gifted to it by David I., William the Lion, and Alexander II. yielding a great revenue. Monks of the Cistercian order from Melrose in due time entered into possession, and of these "white monks" there were latterly twenty in the convent. The even tenor of their ways does not appear to have been disturbed until after the War of Succession had begun, when, to their dismay, Edward I. looked in upon them, and, satisfied with what he saw, took up his quarters in the abbey in the autumn of 1303; and Ferraius (an Italian, who taught the younger monks philosophy and kindred subjects for a period of five or six years) says that the English king and his entire army rested and enjoyed the hospitality of the monks for three weeks! Traditions of the venison and the

fragrance of the abbey's kitchen must have lingered long and fondly in the royal household of the Southron, for in 1336 Edward III. did the monks much the same honour.

Robert Reid secured the presentation to Kinloss Abbey in 1527, and is its best-known abbot. It was he who built the abbot's house, and otherwise enlarged the monastery. Later he became Bishop of Orkney, and then Lord President of the Court of Session. When he died in 1558, he bequeathed 8000 merks to aid in establishing a university in Edinburgh.* The last abbot was Walter Reid, a nephew or grand-nephew of Abbot Robert. He was altogether a different man from his uncle. Referring to this abbot, Mr. Chisholm Batten, in his *History of Beauly Abbey*, says:—"The adhesion of Abbot Reid to the Reformed party doubtless preserved the Abbey of Kinloss from being rabbled, and enabled him to offer the use of it to her Majesty." What ground he has for saying so does not appear. It seems to be an instance of the dense mist in which the

* It was the intention of Bishop Reid that the 8000 merks should be invested in lands in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh for the purpose of founding a college there. This was to be done on the advice and counsel, and at the discretion of three gentlemen whom he named; but, we presume, owing to the executors, one of whom was Abbot Walter, not consulting them, the money was not applied as intended. After their decease, the legacy was considered as having fallen to the crown; but the Edinburgh Town Council, on or about 11th April, 1582, supplicated the Privy Council that his majesty's right in the matter should be conveyed to them, and that they might have full power to pursue Walter Reid, Abbot of Kinloss, one of "the executors testamentares" of Bishop Robert. The petition was granted, and on the 6th of July, 1593, the Town Council recovered one-half of the money from out of the clutches of Abbot Walter. It would appear from this that those authors who assert that Regent Morton appropriated the legacy are in error.

detractors of the Reformers have so successfully enveloped even educated men. That Abbot Walter was a cautious man no one will dispute who knows anything of his history; but that he adhered to the Reformed party is improbable. He certainly displayed none of the spirit of John Knox, always pleading for funds for parish schools and colleges and the poor ministers. The probability is that he clung to his post until all the estates and other property, including the rich treasures of the abbey, were disposed of, and the proceeds safely in his hands, when he would disappear from public view. And that is just what he did, for he disposed of the estates, in 1569, to John Grant, fourth laird of Freuchie. He did the same with the property belonging to the convent of Beauly, of which he was prior. There is small cause to assume that he joined the Reformers, but much that he remained a Catholic, for he continued to hold office till 1572 or 1573. He was one of those numerous priests who took advantage of the reforming spirit of the age to feather their own nests, and having secured all the booty they could lay their hands on, joyfully sang :—

> "We all desire 'the greatest good
> To the greatest number' done;
> But the greatest number is understood
> To be always 'Number One.'"

The ruins give no adequate idea of the size of the abbey when in the height of its prosperity. The buildings, says Ferraius, in his *Sketches of Moray*, included "a dormitory, refectory, hospital, brewhouse, kitchen, pigeon-house, an excellent garden, and other domestic accommodations. The church was large, and was furnished with organs, altars, statues, and paintings."

It also had a good library, which included among other rare works the Old and New Testament, in six volumes, "with the glosses commonly in use."

The Reformers had no hand in the destruction of this abbey. As if to show that it had been neglected by the monks, twelve years after Queen Mary's visit to Kinloss in 1562, the steeple fell. The damaged buildings were not repaired, and those who had secured the estates from the abbot allowed the fabric to fall a prey to the elements; still, ninety years after the Reformation, the great buildings were almost entire. Then once more came the English vandals. With the exception of a few tall fragments and some low arches (these being portions of the south transept and south wall of the choir), the great structure—kirk, monastery, and domestic offices—were all ruthlessly cast down by Cromwell's troops, in 1651, to build the citadel of Inverness. The parishioners also helped themselves to the "auld stanes;" and but for the interference of the abused Presbyterians—in this instance the Presbytery of Elgin—these would have disappeared also, and there would have been no ruins to-day to mourn over.

LINDORES.

This abbey was founded by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, in 1178, on his return from the Holy Land. It is said he did so in commemoration of his having escaped shipwreck. With the exception of the vestibule, which is still fairly preserved, the remainder of the convent comprises a series of low ivy-covered walls, but these show the great size of the place when the "religious" were in all their glory. It is said that this abbey was sacked by

Protestants in 1543, and "the monks turned out of doors." If so, they must, like the crows, have speedily returned to their nest; for Knox, in a letter dated St. Andrews, 23rd June, 1559, to Mrs. Ann Locke, informing her of the events occurring in Scotland, and while the armies of the queen regent and the Lords of the Congregation lay facing each other at Cupar Moor, remarks:—"The Abbey of Lindores, a place of black monks, distant from St. Andrews twelve miles, we reformed, their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and mass books we burned in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits."* It will be observed that Knox says nothing about having turned the monks out of doors, nor anything which would cause one to suppose that the fabric was in any way harmed. Yet even M'Crie himself says that "at Lindores . . . . the houses of the monks were overthrown."† This is a literary curiosity, for he gives as his authority for the statement the very passage in Knox's letter quoted above. Such is the way the great Reformer is unconsciously defamed in the house of his friends.

PAISLEY.

The priory of Paisley was founded, in 1169, by Walter, High Steward of Scotland, ancestor of the Stewarts, and was filled with friars from Wenlock. It was raised to the dignity of an abbey in 1248. It was dedicated to the Virgin, St. James, St. Milburga of Wenlock, and St. Mirinus, the patron saint of Paisley,

* M'Crie, *Life*, vol. ii., p. 389.
† *Ibid.* vol. i., p. 268.

who is said to have been a contemporary of St. Columba. If the inhabitants are not a holy folk, it is not, as may be guessed, from want of "saints;" and it is, perhaps, from them that they inherit their poetic fire, as the Roman saints and friars of old were great singers, the ancient Chaldean (Gregorian) chants being heard issuing from their mouths at all hours of the day—morning, noon, and midnight.

THE ABBEY BUILDINGS AND ESTATES.

When entire the abbey church appears to have consisted of a nave, a northern transept, and a choir, with a chapel built partly on what would have been the site of the southern transept. The small but lofty chapel, commonly called the Sounding Aisle, possesses a remarkably sweet echo resounding along the vaulted roof; but owing to comparatively recent renovations the echo is not nearly so fine as it was before these restorations were made. Owing to the circumstance that the circumference of the two pillars nearest the west is more than double that of the other columns in the church, it has been suggested that they were intended by the architect to support the western towers. Evidently this is the case, but they do not appear ever to have been built.

The abbey was one of the numerous structures which the English destroyed during the War of Independence. The church was rebuilt after the battle of Bannockburn, and being one of the shrines to which pilgrims resorted from all parts of Scotland in search of a cure for their bodily ailments, Robert Bruce would, as was his wont, assist in the work of restoration by grants of money

from the public purse, while both before and after that event it was richly endowed by the Stewarts.

The Lords of the Congregation, in August, 1559, granted a commission to the Earl of Glencairn and Erskine of Dun to "purge" the Abbey of Paisley of idolatry—that is, they were to put out the idols and relics found within the kirk, and to dismantle the altars, but not to damage the fabric. This is what they appear to have done, for although Knox states that the Protestants of the West "burned Paisley,* . . . . cast down Failfurd, Kilwinning, and a part of Crosraguel," Sadler, in the letter to Secretary Cecil already referred to, and which was written at the very time these incidents were taking place, makes no mention of the burning of this abbey. It is therefore apparent that what Knox intended to convey was the burning of the figures, and not the burning of the kirk, of which he disapproved. Indeed, the kindly care of the Reformers for church buildings is strongly manifested by this abbey, for the nave is still intact, and has long been in use as the parish kirk. Even to keep it in proper repair was no easy matter. An unscrupulous monarch gave away the lands of this priory, the rents of which ought to have gone in support of the preachers, the school, and the poor, and to keep the fabric watertight, but the ministers were helpless, for the law upheld the lawlessness of the crown.

About the end of the fifteenth century, the abbot and chapter granted to the magistrates of Paisley in feu-farm the ground on which the old town stands; and the new town, founded and feued by the Earl of Abercorn in 1799, covers the ground which was

* KNOX, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 167.

PAISLEY ABBEY.

formerly the abbey gardens. The monastery lands were erected into a temporal lordship by the crown, and the last abbot, Claud Hamilton, was the priest who got it. In the chapel is a wall tablet to the memory of honest Claud and his wife! His successors are the Abercorn dukes, one of whom has to be credited with the re-opening of the east window, and filling it with stained glass, a very great stretch of generosity.

THE STORY OF ROBERT BOYD.

The history of the abbey need not detain us, but we may refer shortly to the story of Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, because of an incident in his career corroborating what has been advanced that the "rascal multitude" were Catholics, besides proving that the estates of this abbey went to a Catholic priest and his family. He had private means of his own, a gentleman, and entered the ministry because, as he expressed it, "considering the great wrath under which by nature he lay, and the great salvation purchased for him by Jesus Christ, he had resolved to spend himself, and be spent to the uttermost, by giving all diligence to glorify that Lord who had so loved him." First a minister at Vertal, and then professor of divinity at Saumur, both in France, he was invited home by James VI., and appointed principal of the college of Glasgow and minister of Govan. Demitting both of these charges, he was next appointed principal of the college of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of the city, in 1622, from which, by order of King James as head of the Church, he was turned out the following year! Though known to be strongly opposed to the Perth Articles,

having refused conformity to them first at Glasgow and then at Edinburgh, he was held in high estimation, because of his learning and prudence, by Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was easily persuaded to re-admit him into his diocese as minister of Paisley.

"Here he remained in security and peace till the Earl of Abercorn's brother, a zealous Papist, dispossessed him on a Sabbath afternoon while he was preaching, and threw all his books out of the house where he had his residence." Mr. Boyd complained to the Privy Council of the treatment he had received, and the offender was imprisoned; but the bailies of Paisley having undertaken to repossess him, and the Papist having expressed regret for what he had done, the Council, at the minister's intercession, passed the outrage over. When, however, Mr. Boyd went to take possession, he "found the church doors secured, so that no access could be had; and though the magistrates would have broken them open, yet the mob (urged on, as was supposed, by the earl's mother) pressed so hard upon him, both by opprobrious speeches and throwing stones, that he was forced to flee to Glasgow." Seeing no prospect of a peaceful settlement in Paisley because of the violence of the Roman Catholics, he retired to his own estate of Trochrig in Carrick, where it is supposed he continued till his death, which took place a few years after being chased out of Paisley.

RESTORATION-MONGERS AND THEIR WAYS.

A great but not altogether successful effort has been made towards the restoration of this abbey to its pristine glory. The transepts have been rebuilt, and

the first section of the great tower erected. This work has cost £20,000, and as that sum is more than was anticipated would be required, the completion of the tower and the restoration of the choir have had to be postponed. But to what purpose is all this building? "Coming events," saith the poet, "cast their shadows before." There is something pharisaical about the cry that the restoration of this and that other abbey will "tend to unity in God's holy Church." Unity in certain circumstances is not to be desired, it is even unscriptural; and it shows a great want of consideration, not to use a stronger term, on the part of our restoration-mongers to say that those who object to such fabrics being imposed upon the Church of Scotland grudge, under the name of purity, "to glorify the house of God's glory, or to make the place of His feet glorious." We do not pretend to understand such mystical language; we hope those who heard it did; but it puts us in remembrance of once hearing a cry of "Cuckoo, cuckoo," issue from the woods. We failed to understand its meaning, but the sound made us aware that a cuckoo was not far away. One has only to think of the many beautiful kirks which have been, and are being, erected all over Presbyterian Scotland, to understand how erroneous is the ungenerous insinuation that Scotsmen grudge to build a house in which to worship God. The men pointed at do not object to make God's house chaste, graceful, beautiful; on the contrary, they love to have it so; but it is quite another matter to force upon the Church, buildings the form and intentions of which are foreign to the genius of Presbytery.

There is no elaborate ritual, nor are there stately

processions demanding huge houses in connection with the services common to the Presbyterian Church. The worship of that Church is not sacrificial, and therefore not ceremonial; it is congregational, with "common" prayer and preaching. Should it ever fall into dogma without faith, and drop "common" prayer and have little preaching, it might require to fall back upon the Pagan temple, and, its priests adorned with the jewels and mitre of Dagon, adopt a visible because material sacrifice, with its gorgeous dresses of white, crimson, purple, and cloth of gold, music and grand marchings; and if so, it would build unto itself great houses, with pillared aisles and raised choirs, doing away perhaps with the pointed arch, the vertical lines of which speak of spiritual aspirations, and bring back the horizontal, emblematic of spiritual decadence. Or should it ever listen to the voice of the charmer—charm he never so well—that "there will be nothing satisfactory, nothing that can meet the real need either of South Africa, of the other Colonies, or even of Great Britain itself, till we get a united Church—a United Reformed Church—for the British Empire; till our national unity, which every day we are learning the more to value, shall be cemented in the unity as of a common faith, so of a united and harmonious worship, in a Church which shall gather in itself all the good things in our systems, and shall make us all, more thoroughly than ever, one new man in Christ Jesus," and forget the advice which Beza tendered to Knox on being informed by the latter of the government established in the Church of Scotland, it will well deserve the fate its *friends* have in store for it. After congratulating Knox that he had banished the order of bishops, he proceeded to admonish

PAISLEY ABBEY. INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

him and his colleagues to beware of suffering it to re-enter under the deceitful pretext of preserving unity.* Stripped of the sentimentality of the dreamer, unity on the above lines simply means that the Presbyterian Church shall pull down its flag, walk into, get mixed, and be lost for ever in Episcopacy.

SCONE.

The sturdy men of Dundee answered to the call of the Lords of the Congregation, and took part in "the warris," one of their objects being to assist their allies of Perth, who were being harassed by Chartres of Kinfauns, the usurping provost, and oppressed by the queen regent's troops. After performing a good day's work, in that they greatly assisted in compelling the Perth garrison to surrender, they set out on an excursion of their own. Not far away, occupying the episcopal palace of Scone, was John Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, a priest whom they had good cause to remember. He dressed in fine linen, and, with his concubines and family, fared sumptuously every day. They knew that it was at his instigation that the aged Walter Mill had been burned at St. Andrews; they remembered the persecution which Paul Methven—one who had proved himself a true friend—had been subjected to by the priests; and they also knew that, having soldiers and menials at his bidding, he had harassed and oppressed the people of Perth by his exactions. For these reasons, the men of Dundee went up the side of the river to have a word with him, and to settle old scores.

* M'Crie, *Life*, vol. ii., p. 203.

In this extremity, and being unable either to kick or pacify them, Knox was sent for! He was with the Lords of the Congregation at the time, and at once complied with the bishop's request. On reaching Scone, he found the men of Dundee busy pulling down the images, and clearing out the dormitories of the monks. The buildings were intact. Knox expostulated and reasoned with them, and with difficulty succeeded in getting them to desist. He saved this "den of profligates, where those filthy beasts, the friars, have acted in darkness every sort of sin," for twenty-four hours.* Next day several of the men were strolling about the grounds, and one of them, happening to look in at the girnel door, was run through with a rapier by a bastard son of the bishop (one of four such). Furious at the murder of their fellow-townsman, they sent to Perth for assistance. Nothing loth, the citizens sallied out, and were quickly at the scene of the tragedy. Bursting into the palace and abbey, they gave them to the flames. Knox had put himself to considerable trouble to protect these great structures only the day before, and now, as the result of a cowardly deed on the part of the bishop's son, both abbey and palace are reduced to bare walls—all but the old aisle, now a museum. He was so angry at the destruction of the buildings that "he could not speak patiently to any man of Perth or Dundee." These men, then, need not look to him for encouragement in abbey, church, or palace burning. Yet this is the man whom we are asked to believe was the author of all the "mischief," and as a "madman" speaking to the mob! The lying spirit is always with us, and was no less so in the days

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iii., pp. 98, 99.

that are gone. The above murderous incident strikingly bears out the truthfulness of the sixteenth century poet's protest:—

"Had not yourself begun the weiris
Your stepillis had been standand yit.
It was the flattering of your friers
That ever gart Sanct Francis flit.
Ye grew sa superstitious
In wickednesse,
It gart us grow malicious
Contrair your messe."

The murder of the Dundee man by Bishop Hepburn's son brought on the destruction of Scone. But for that dastardly deed, the abbey would have been preserved to us. It was of great extent, the walls showing that they enclosed about twelve acres of ground; but this acreage would doubtless include the garden and orchard, which were often very extensive. It was in the kirk attached to this abbey where was preserved the Stone of Destiny, which formed the coronation chair of the kings of Scotland until it was removed to Westminster by Edward I.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHAT BEFELL THE ABBEYS (Continued).

WE are gravely assured that of the numerous monasteries which at one time dotted all the West Coast from Ayrshire to far Solway, there are few which escaped "the vandalism of the Reformers." To show how erroneous this statement is, and that it is groundless, or nearly so, we will take a few (for, of course, we cannot take them all) of the houses of the "religious" as examples of how they fared in these provinces.

CROSRAGUEL.

This abbey suffered much violence at the hands of the English during the War of Independence; it was demolished; but the monks soon set themselves to work to rebuild the monastery. Robert Bruce largely aided in the work of restoration, as also did his son David, both having bestowed rich gifts upon the abbey. It continued to grow in beauty and wealth for one hundred years more, by which period the morality of the monks had run to seed. To show the great waste continually going on in such great buildings, it may be stated that, notwithstanding all the outlay of the two monarchs, this abbey was again almost rebuilt in the early half of the fifteenth century.

The Earls of Argyle, Arran, and Glencairn are said to have pulled down a portion of the walls of this abbey in

1561, and it is one of the monasteries that Knox says a part was cast down. It is altogether improbable that these noblemen would waste their time attempting to pull down strong thick walls; but if they did they exceeded their commission, which was to "purge" the kirks of all their idolatrous trappings, and not to harm the buildings. And that, from their well-known character, they would not do. Of course, some part of the abbey may have been pulled down by the people in the excitement of the period, and during the burning of what Sadler calls "the Popish stuff," but they would get no countenance in any such work from these persons. Time, decay, the elements, and the builders of houses and the constructors of dykes—each one of them more powerful than the three noblemen combined—are, with those who seized upon the monastery lands, responsible for the destruction of this, as of nearly all the other convents and kirks in Scotland. The ruins are extensive, yet, strange to say, are in a well-preserved state, particularly the domestic buildings of the fraternity.

Who got the estates of this abbey? Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, secured them. He coveted the lands, and ordered that certain writs should be drawn up in his favour, among others, a feu charter of all the lands of Crosraguel. The commendator of the abbey, Allan Stewart, could not be induced to sign the documents. To compel him to do so, he was waylaid, and taken to Dunure. Here he was well-treated for a few days, and then requested to sign the writs. He refused. He was at once taken to the kitchen, stripped to the skin, and basted with grease before a roaring fire. The tortured Allan was compelled to yield, and signed

the documents as well as a half-roasted fist could do so. "Benedicite, Jesu Maria," remarked the callous earl, "had I known that you would have been so stubborn I would not for a thousand crowns have handled you so." Allan Stewart appealed to the Privy Council for redress, but Regent Lennox was afraid to face the music; and thus it is that the greater part of the property so unjustly obtained, and which belonged to the abbey, is still in possession of the house of Cassilis.

DUNDRENNAN.

The great abbey of Dundrennan was founded in the twelfth century (A.D. 1142) by either David I. or Earl Fergus, or probably both assisted in its erection. Like most other abbeys, the site was carefully chosen in a fertile and well-watered valley, and it took about thirty years to build the immense fabric. While Edward I. spared the church, the domestic buildings suffered much damage at his lawless hands, but the monastery was restored afterwards in a style more sumptuous than before. It was also greatly enlarged, to accommodate the great number of canny monks who hastened to find ease, comfort, and shelter within its luxurious walls.

Notwithstanding that James IV. annexed part of its revenue to the college of secular priests at Stirling, it was in full working order after the Reformation, for it was within the house and gardens of Dundrennan that hapless Queen Mary, after her defeat at Langside in 1568, passed her last three days on Scottish soil previous to passing across the Solway into England. We hear a great deal about "the church-destroying frenzy" which followed in the footsteps of the Reformers, but that the Dundrennan monks should

have it in their power to give hospitality to their queen eight years after the Reformation gives the lie direct to all such slanders.

Although given over to total neglect by those who held the monastery lands, the transepts are well-preserved even yet, while the quadrangle of the cloister is intact. The remains of the chapter-house are a sight to see, as they show plainly enough that it was one of the largest in Scotland. There may be seen in it the sculptured figure of an abbot calmly bearing his crozier, standing upon a man writhing in agony. The ruin is chiefly in the early transition style, and has been repaired by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.

GLENLUCE.

A large and beautiful fabric, with extensive monastic houses, was Glenluce Abbey, built largely in the late decorated style, of which Melrose is a lovely specimen. It was founded by Alan, Lord of Galloway, in 1190, and was in use for centuries. But all that remains of it, besides the towering gable of the south transept and cloisters, is the chapter-house, a vaulted chamber in a fair state of preservation, and a fine example of the style adopted.

That we should be gratuitously told that this monastery escaped "the violent hands of the Reformers" occasions no surprise; but that being so, they cannot be blamed for its present ruinous condition, and it falsifies the statement made by Spotswood that "all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first ruins did now undergo the common calamity." The truth is that Glenluce was very much damaged by the English in 1545, who cast out its monks, fifteen

years before the Reformation. It must have been repaired, for it stood intact till 1646, eighty-six years after that event, when it was "put to sale" by either a Kennedy or a Gordon, and for long afterwards was a common quarry. The abbey is to be found in the foundations and walls of many of the grand mansions in the neighbourhood. It may be remarked that the garden and orchard of this great convent extended to twelve good Scotch acres, and were for many years one of the sights of the west. Doubtless this extensive parterre formed part of "the patrimony of the poor," but the poor saw little of it—only the monks and their friends, with an occasional visit from the king and the neighbouring nobility and gentry, reaped the benefit.

But what became of this beautiful garden, and the estates of the abbey? The Earl of Cassilis secured possession. The abbot appears to have sold the property to the earl, but before the writs were signed the abbot died. Greatly disappointed at this unlooked-for event, and being an unscrupulous scoundrel, "he then dealt with ane monk of the same abbacy, wha could counterfeit the abbot's hand-writ and all the haill convents, and gart him counterfeit their subscriptions." Fearing that the monk might make things unpleasant by revealing what he had been forced to do, the earl caused him to be murdered, and then he accused the murderer of theft, hanging him at Crosraguel, and so "the lands of Glenluce were conquest," *i.e.*, purchased.*

KILWINNING.

A large religious house was Kilwinning. It is a disputed point who was the founder of this abbey, but

* *History of the Kennedies*, Bannatyne's Journal, p. 55.

the concensus of opinion is that Hugh de Morville, Lord of Cunningham, and Constable of Scotland, was the individual. He was also founder of Dryburgh Abbey about 1150. The Abbey of Arbroath was dedicated in 1178, and the monumental evidence at Kilwinning, it is considered, goes to show that the latter was at least partly built as early as the former. The buildings are of the usual Scotch kirk architecture, composite, extending from about the middle of the twelfth to the first half of the fourteenth century. Kilwinning gradually but surely became one of the wealthiest monasteries in Scotland. Unlike Kelso, it suffered much during the English invasions in the fourteenth century; but in subsequent years it recovered its former prosperity and splendour, as it was always getting benefactions of one kind or another from a number of Scottish kings. The abbey became the prey of the nobility, and Queen Mary erected the lands into a temporal lordship. In after years it fell into decay, and the stones were carried away. A fine fragment of the abbey church is the end wall of the south transept, towering 90 feet high. It is an excellent example of Early Pointed, having three tall pointed windows, and above them a "Round O," with two sets of coupled lancet windows, and over these a narrow upright square one. There are also other interesting fragments, such as the single arch of the transept aisle, the doorway which led to the cloisters, and the domestic houses.

Of course, the Reformers are blamed for the destruction of Kilwinning. It is the case that this abbey is one of the abbeys which Knox says was "cast down," but this would appear to have been a mistake, for

Sadler, while stating that it was "suppressed," says nothing about its demolition. He mentions, however, as we have seen, that the Protestants burned all the images, idols, and Popish stuff in Kilwinning. As a specimen of the ravings indulged in by many writers, we may give the following:—"Toward the end of the sixteenth century the Earls of Arran, Glencairn, and Argyle joined with the 'Protestants of the West' to wipe out the memory of the abbey [Kilwinning] from the face of the earth. This worthy mission succeeded pretty well, though they spared, by accident we presume, one powerful fragment, that for three hundred years has pointed its aged finger to the sky, calling down vengeance upon the destroyers of the shrine of one of Christ's earliest messengers to the Scottish people."*

This is not the first time that an architect has, in this same way, denounced Presbyterians without advancing any proof of his averments, and that, too, notwithstanding Dr. M'Crie's eloquent protest; but, so far as we are aware, it has been left to our author to take up the role of priest as well as architect, and, in his detestation of the destroyers of the abbeys, to call down vengeance upon the dead Reformers. Whatever credence may be placed in their technical knowledge as architects, very little reliance can be placed on them as historians, a few excepted, and their cursing of the Reformers is due to prejudice begotten of ignorance. That this is so in the present instance is clear.

The Earl of Arran, "toward the end of the sixteenth century," was the notorious James Stewart, second son of Lord Ochiltree, one of the most unprincipled men who ever had power in Scotland. He was a "scoundrel,"

* BUTLER'S *Ruined Abbeys of Scotland*, p. 215.

and the accuser of Regent Morton.* A great favourite with James VI., he, along with Esmé Stewart (another of the same), undermined the verities taught the royal boy by Buchanan, and besides turning him into a foul-mouthed fellow, instilled those notions of absolute government into the young king's head which were to lead ultimately to the ruin of his house. Stewart was created Earl of Arran about 1580, but, compelled to flee the court some years afterwards, the title was confiscated, and he was slain in 1596 by Sir James Douglas of Torthorwald, nephew to the decapitated Regent, sent to the scaffold through the machinations of this "scoundrel." Arran laboured with his flexible but ambitious and indefatigable master for the ascendancy of Episcopacy, that through it the king might become an absolute monarch: next to his succession to the crown of England, the one desire of his heart. Arran would even have re-established the Catholic system in the land, and was a persecutor of the Kirk of Scotland.† Such a man was not at all likely to back up the Reformers.

The Earl of Glencairn, "toward the end of the sixteenth century," was William Cunningham, a somewhat treacherous fellow, and one of the noblemen who banded themselves together to rescue James VI. out of the power of the Earl of Gowrie, who represented the English, or Protestant party, and place him in the hands of Arran, the French or Catholic faction. While pretending to favour the former, he turned traitor when they met at Perth, which cowardly conduct brought Gowrie to the block.‡

* MACKENZIE, *History of Scotland*, pp. 451, 454.
† TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 83-103.
‡ *Ibid.* pp. 60, 73, 76.

Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was a young man of nineteen years of age when he fought and lost the battle of Glenlivat in 1594. So far as he was concerned, the fight was a personal one, being desirous of revenge for the murder of the Bonnie Earl of Moray, his brother-in-law, by the Earl of Huntly, his antagonist. Afterwards he was too much engaged in ferreting out the treachery which caused him to lose the battle, and in fighting the Macdonalds, to have time to knock down monasteries. This man left Scotland for London in 1618, and in 1633 declared himself a Papist!

If Mr. Butler means, not the men "toward the end of the sixteenth," but those noblemen bearing the same titles in the middle of the century, we have shown above that they were not the parties at all likely to go beyond their commission. It should cause no surprise when we say that Kilwinning Abbey will be found in the stables of Eglinton Castle, a castle belonging to the Catholic Setons.

LINCLUDEN.

This abbey dates from about the middle of the twelfth century. It was built and endowed for a community of Benedictine nuns by Uchtred, son of the Earl Fergus who founded several convents in other parts of Galloway, and was afterwards assassinated by his brother Gilbert. This nunnery was more or less destroyed by the Earl of Douglas (Archibald the Grim, and first of the Douglasses who held sway in the province in virtue of his descent from the old lords of Galloway), who expelled the nuns for "insolence" in the latter half of the fourteenth century, but it is credibly believed that he acquired great land tenures

by suppressing the convent. As a penance, we suppose, he rebuilt the monastery, richly endowed it, and founded a collegiate institution with a provost and twelve canons.

The greater part of the present ruins, which are chiefly in the decorated and florid styles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, belong to the church he built. They consist of the south wall of the nave and the south transept with the choir, roofless, but well preserved otherwise. Besides these, the ruins include the tower of the "Provost's Lodgings," only half its original height, a range of vaulted cellars adjoining the tower, and a rather diminutive vestry. The most interesting part of the ruins is the chancel, which, although much decayed, presents features of great architectural beauty. In the north wall is an elaborately carved and gorgeous tomb in memory of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Douglas, and a daughter of Robert III., who endowed the college with extensive grants of land in 1429 for the love she bore her husband, who was also Duke of Tourane, but commonly known as "Tyneman" on account of his frequent losses in battle. The site of the abbey is well chosen, and the view very fine. When Robert Burns was a resident in Dumfries, one of his favourite haunts was the "Auld College," and among its ruins he composed many a poem and song.

It would be unusual were the Reformers not blamed for the ruin of Lincluden Abbey. Some authorities say that it was suppressed by the Protestants, while others deplore the "fanaticism" which laid the monastery in ruins. While there may be a modicum of truth in these statements, in that it may have been purged of all "monuments of idolatry" and suffered therefrom,

the probability is that, left to the care of the moribund monks, as elsewhere was the case, it gradually got out of order from want of repair, ultimately falling a prey to the stone-lifter. At all events, the Catholics held services within the collegiate kirk of Lincluden in 1585, twenty-five years after it is said to have been suppressed and demolished.

"SWEETHEART."

New Abbey, or "Sweetheart Abbey," as it is popularly called, was founded by Devorgilla, daughter of Allan, Earl of Galloway, in the first half of the thirteenth century, as a memorial of her husband, John Baliol of Castle Bernard, father of King John Baliol, and of the life-long love and affection which had subsisted betwixt them. "The priory obtained its name from an action of its foundress, in 1269. Her husband died this year, and the disconsolate Devorgilla caused his heart to be embalmed, put into an ivory box bound with silver, and solemnly buried in the wall near the high altar."* Here she was herself interred, with her husband's heart upon her bosom, in 1289. Sweetheart Abbey, as did the other convents, grew in splendour as the years rolled on.

During the War of Independence, Edward I. did not damage the abbey, but he confiscated the monastery lands, which, however, were returned by him on Abbot John swearing allegiance to the English crown. The building seems to have suffered little violence at the hand of man, but in 1381 it was struck by lightning, and so much hurt that the monks had to appeal for

* NIMMO, *History of Stirlingshire*, p. 662.

financial assistance to get it repaired. It never recovered its former magnificence.

It would be uncommon were the Reformers not charged with at least attempting the destruction of this abbey, and so we find that the Privy Council are said to have ordered Lord Herries to lay both it and its dependencies waste, but that he refused. What the Council ordered to be done to all such structures was to "purge" them of all "monuments of idolatry," such as altars, crosses, and idols, honoured and venerated by the inhabitants of the country; but with regard to the buildings—well, the fact remains that the Reformers did this abbey no damage! Another fact is, that at the Reformation the abbey lands were feued to Lord Maxwell, a Roman Catholic. Afterwards the crown resumed possession, when the temporalities were, by royal charter, granted to the burgh of Dumfries, subject to the life-rent of the monks then in residence, but nothing towards the upkeep of the church. No structure, however strongly and compactly built, can withstand centuries of neglect. This abbey, for instance, stood greatly in want of repair, and the church of a new roof, but now that the lands were granted away, it got neither, with the inevitable result that, to quote a recent writer, "little by little the more exposed portions of the church fell in, and the vaults and aisles collapsed, while the abbey buildings disappeared almost to a stone." Small wonder that this was so, seeing the great edifice suffered not only from neglect, but was turned into a common quarry. The stone-lifting was stopped at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when a successful effort was made to preserve the ruins from disappearing altogether.

The church, although roofless, and the north wall demolished, is yet in an excellent state of preservation, while the broad square tower springing from its four arches is almost intact. The latter is well worth a second glance, as, raising its open mouth fish-like mitre to the skies, it looks as everlasting as Dagon's priests appear to be, while lower down, from the projecting top course, may be observed the grotesques with which the facetious Freemasons usually enlivened their toil. The twelve graceful pillars in the nave are well preserved, as are also the tracery and mullions of the beautiful windows at the east end and over the western doorway. Billings becomes quite enthusiastic over this abbey. He says that it has "all the graceful dignity of the Early English style in its best day." It is simply magnificent in its ruins.

WHITHORN.

Whithorn is believed to be the spot where the first Christian kirk, built of stone, was erected in Scotland. It was here, in 397, that St. Ninian built himself a cell, and which expanded into a big house of the "religious," when, in the twelfth century, Fergus, Earl of Galloway, erected a great edifice. As might be expected from the ravages committed along the western coast by the Norse galleys, at various periods in our history, nothing of the original fabric remains. Of the one raised by the earl, there are still several interesting bits left, such as the long aisleless nave and the vaulted crypts of the choir; also the doorway of four recessed arches, with its facial caps, deep mouldings, and ornaments, similar to the one in Dunfermline Abbey. The Reformers have been severely blamed for the destruction of this abbey

without sufficient cause, for the buildings, and also a later structure to the east of them, were almost intact till long after the Reformation. In fact, the edifice was in use till about 1650, and the chancel, or probably the vaulted crypt of the choir, was used as the parish church in the early part of the nineteenth century. That this was so, and that the Reformers did not damage Whithorn, it may be mentioned that Symson states that the nave and the western tower stood comparatively well preserved towards the end of the seventeenth century, but the tower some years later fell and crashed in upon the western end of the church, the ultimate result being the ruins as we now see them. This abbey, then, was in a fair state of preservation about one hundred and thirty-five years after the Reformation, and not only so, but a part of it was actually used as the parish kirk for upwards of one hundred years longer, yet the Reformers are still denounced as "vandals" because of the ruins! There is, of course, nothing new in this, but it is unfortunate that reckless writers will persist in speaking so positively of events which, blinded by prejudice, they are unable to discriminate upon.

To this abbey—the shrine of St. Ninian—James IV. went once or twice a year on pilgrimage. He was a great pilgrim, imposed probably on him as a penance, as witness his iron belt—a belt which he caused to be made heavier every year—for the part he was induced to take in his youth at the battle of Sauchie, ending as it did in the murder of his father at Milton by a man who said he was a priest. When on his penitential journeys, he dispensed justice and gave alms; but they were not grievous or unpleasant affairs, for he travelled

with a large retinue, was accompanied by ministrels, and enjoyed sport on the way with his hawks and his dogs. Still, there are good grounds for believing that he was conscience-stricken for the part he played in the slaughter of his hapless father. Not being able to point him to "the blood of Jesus Christ, which cleanses from all sin," the Roman Catholic priests sent the royal hunt-the-gowk on from shrine to shrine all over the country between Whithorn and Tain (St. Duthai), and the poor king only found rest to his troubled soul when he fell at Flodden.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHAT BEFELL THE PRIORIES.

BEAULY.

THIS priory, begun by John Bisset of Lovat, dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century; but the west front, the north work, and the chapel of holy rood are believed to have been built by Hugh, first Lord Lovat, in the first half of the fifteenth. Some unique features are to be seen in this priory.

Robert Reid, the Abbot of Kinloss, was also Prior of Beauly, and he made numerous improvements and several extensive additions to this priory in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, but not long after he had done so a great storm arose, and swept over the buildings. Its violence was so great that the tower, built by Prior Alexander Fraser, was thrown down, and a portion of the church destroyed. This occurred before the days of John Knox. While the monastic buildings of the priory have all disappeared in the houses comprising the village and neighbouring district, the church is still, although roofless, well preserved. It is lovely in its ruins.

THE PRIORY ESTATES SOLD.

Walter Reid was Prior of Beauly (he was also Abbot of Kinloss, as we have seen) at the period of the Reformation. He soon gave indications of his desire

to sell the extensive church lands of Beauly, and ultimately did so to Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat, for the sum of 13,500 merks. This sordid transaction took place in November, 1572. Having pocketed his money, Prior Walter retired from office. But before doing so, he appointed one John Fraser as his successor, and on the 8th of July, 1573, within a few months of receiving his appointment, the new prior executed a new charter of the barony of Beauly in favour of Lord Hugh; and in June, 1575, a charter of the dominical lands and of the salmon fishings was also granted him, and sasine duly followed. These charters were subsequently confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1584.* In the negotiations for the purchase of these church estates and fishings, Lord Hugh was greatly indebted to the Earl of Huntly, but even more so to the Prior of Beauly's "wife," who was connected to him by marriage through his grandmother, Janet Ross of Balnagowan!

If the Reformers were as harsh in their dealings with the monasteries and their inhabitants as is said, it is passing strange that Prior Walter should have it in his power not only to flout the crown, but to sell, for his own behoof, the estates of the Church twelve years after the downfall of the Romish system.

EDINBURGH.

ST. GILES.

The architectural features of the High Kirk are so well known that we need not delay in attempting to describe them, and for the same reason we need not enter fully into the story of this historic church. Its

* MACKENZIE, *History of the Frasers of Lovat*, pp. 109-112.

name first appears in a charter of David II., 1259. A parish church, and subsequently a cathedral, it was made a college by James III. in 1466. It was in this kirk, on the 23rd July, 1637, that the riot over the reading of Laud's Liturgy took place, and the Solemn League and Covenant was sworn to and subscribed within its walls on the 13th October, 1643. Regent Moray was interred here after his murder by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh; and so was the great Marquis of Montrose eleven years after his execution in 1650. John Knox lies outside, on the southern side of the church, almost beneath the hoofs of the horse astride of which is the greatest persecutor who ever ruled over Scotland; the stone over the grave is inscribed "I. K., 1572."

JENNY GEDDES.

The historical riot above alluded to was begun by Jenny Geddes throwing her cutty-stool at Dean Hannay's head, exclaiming as she did so: "Out, thou fause thief! Dost thou say mass at my lug?" The alarmed dean ducked his head, and the missile passed harmlessly by. But although the poor cleric escaped, the stool fell heavily on others. For Jenny struck the first blow on the long and bloody road which led towards civil and religious liberty; the second was struck when the head of Mary's hapless grandson rolled on the scaffold at Whitehall; and the third and last at the Battle of the Boyne. The quidnuncs deny that there ever was a Jenny Geddes, and try hard to laugh her and her cutty-stool out of Scottish story; but she won't go. There was a riot, and a serious one too, both inside and outside the church, and the tradition that Jenny began

the fray is just as credible as any other that has been advanced. A brass mural tablet, inserted by the late Lord President Inglis near the spot where the incident occurred, chronicles the event.* Had they been told it was a miracle—that an angel had been at Jenny's elbow helping her to throw straight—they never would have called in question the truth of the story, any more than they do the fanciful tale told by the "true Church" that the house of the Virgin Mary was carried by angels from Nazareth right across the Mediterranean Sea into Dalmatia, thence to Loretto in Italy, two thousand years, we suppose, after it was built, and certainly twelve hundred and fifty years after she was in her grave.

THE "HOLY RELIC."

Let us go back some years in the story of the High Kirk. In 1556 Edinburgh paid six shillings for painting the great image of St. Giles—it was life size—and twelve pennies for polishing the silver arm containing the "holy relic," *i.e.*, the "arm bane" of the saint, which had become dim. Two years later the idol was removed out of the church by some lads, who *drowned* him in the Nor' Loch, drew him out, and burned him as an infidel and an encourager of idolatry. This affair caused a great stir. Knox says that the friars went "rouping like ravens" to the bishops; the bishops flew to the queen regent, and got her "to summon before her the preachers of that new doctrine which was working such alarms."

* The inscription on the tablet is as follows:—"Constant oral tradition affirms that near this spot a brave Scotchwoman, Janet Geddes, on the 23rd July, 1637, struck the first blow in the great struggle for freedom of conscience, which, after a conflict of half a century, ended in the establishment of civil and religious liberty."

Her summons was of no avail. When the 1st of September—St. Giles' day—drew nigh, the bishops ordered the Town Council either to fetch back the old saint, or make a new one. They would have a visible god. How ridiculous that rational beings should venerate, worship, and adore such a thing. Yet they did it, and Catholics in many countries continue the same worship still.* The Council refused to obey the absurd request. However, the Romish monks, having borrowed a "marmouset idol" from the Grey friars, and having set it upon a "fertour," or barrow, issued from the church carrying it shoulder high. A most amusing yet humbling sight. As a matter of policy, as well as a blind, Roman Catholic priests always desire to have the countenance of the magistrates—even the head of the state—at their ceremonies, and so the queen regent

* In the third volume of *The Clifton Tracts*, No. 73 (London: Burns and Oates), by the Roman Catholic "Brotherhood of St. Vincent de Paul," there is a tractate entitled:

IMAGE WORSHIP NOT IDOLATRY.

In the course of his argument, the writer of the tract says that "the worship directly rendered to Christ will be indirectly paid to His image" (p. 7). "All that I would insist upon is, that in some sense or other honour, veneration, worship, or what is meant by the Latin word *cultus*, is due, and is naturally paid *to* a sacred image—to the person represented through the image, but also to the image itself, as that person's representative. Yes, I repeat it, images are representative. They are for worship, *objects* of devotion, as well as helps and incentives thereto. Their use is not only to raise the mind to heaven, where the saint reigns in glory, but to bring him down to earth, to *re-present* him, or render him, as it were, present on the very spot where his image stands, that we may worship *him through it*, and *it for him*. Thus 'image-worship' is one of the many forms of Catholic devotion" (p. 10). The *Italics* are as in the original. There is nothing new in this: it is just what the idolator, in all ages and in all climes, puts forward in excuse of his idolatry.

headed the procession, followed by the dignified clergy; but the moment she left, the crowd began to press upon the friars who carried the saint, causing him to sway from side to side. Great was the excitement. Too well pegged through the feet to fall, a cry arose, "Down with the idol," and down it speedily came, when someone caught hold of him by the heels, and, "dadding his head on the causeway," broke him to pieces. The priests fled.

"Fie, cowards, fie," cried an Englishman who happened to be a witness of the tragedy. "Why fly ye? Turn and strike every one a stroke for his god!"

Although they saw the saint's head lying in the gutter, the clergy sped away as fast as their feet could carry them. However, St. Giles—the disgusting fellow whom Mrs. Jameson, in her book on *Monastic Orders*, represents in a state of nudity—was not altogether lost, for his "arm bane" fell into the hands of the magistrates; they relieved it of its jewels and silver work, and, along with some of its gorgeous vestments, sold them, repairing the church with the proceeds. Then the "holy relic," which high and low were wont to kiss, disappeared from view with its healing virtues for ever. What a great loss; and yet, strange to say, Edinburgh has prospered amazingly without it!

THE FRIARS ROB THE CONVENTS.

We have said, that on the Lords of the Congregation with their small army marching into Edinburgh, they found that they had been anticipated in that part of the work which they had set themselves to do, namely, the purifying of the churches from all emblems of idolatry. It would appear that it was the priests

Photo. by] ST. GILES, EDINBURGH. *[Wm. Duncan, Solicitor, Leith.*

themselves who did so. The rascal friars, having taken the alarm, "began to dispose among their acquaintances the best of their goods," and the "rascal multitude," quickly apprehending what the monks were about, and finding the gates open, suddenly fell to work and sacked the monasteries. So that before the Protestant army had set a foot in this Catholic city, "neither altars, nor idols, nor anything pertaining to idolatry in the friars, was left standing: the whole churches about Edinburgh, as well as within the town, being purged."* This was all brought about owing to the cupidity of the monks, who seized and sold as much of the goods within the convents as they could lay their hands on. The friars set the example of pilfering the friaries of Edinburgh, and relieving the churches of their gold and silver plate, jewels, vestments, and other valuables, just as they had done at Perth a few days previously. The men who did this were Catholic priests—the "religious"—and the meaner sort of Catholics, "imitating the example of the greater," finished what the monks had begun. Yet Catholics, Episcopalians, and others have the assurance to say that all this was the work of the Reformers! The Protestants had nothing to do with it, being miles from the town at the time when the destructive work was going on.

THE PRESBYTERIANS PRESERVE THE HIGH KIRK.

As we have shown, it was the English Catholics who set fire to the churches and monasteries of Edinburgh, doing them untold damage. The High Kirk was burned on several occasions by them, but was always

* MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, in M'CRIE'S *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii., p. 423.

repaired by the Scots. The Protestant army misused it for a short time for military purposes, at which Knox was exceedingly wroth; but certainly it was not cast down by the Reformers, for it is still with us; instead, they repaired the edifice, and used it as a parish church, of which John Knox was minister. The Reformers did not destroy the fine Norman doorway on the north side of the nave of this cathedral. It resembled the west doorway of Dunfermline Abbey church, but, in 1797 (two hundred and thirty-eight years after the "barbarous" Reformers had begun their "devastating" work), was removed by the men of taste and refinement of Modern Athens: men who suffered, as their successors continue to do, the statue of a perjured and persecuting king—the monarch of The Killing Time—to stand over the grave, and almost at the very door of the church of Knox. Edinburgh is an adept at shifting statues, and if she will have such an image, it ought to be removed to the quadrangle of Holyrood Palace, which Charles in great measure rebuilt that he might have a house to flee to if cast out of England, and the statue of Knox recently offered to the magistrates might well take its place.

BLACKFRIARS.

This convent was greatly damaged by an accidental fire in 1528. The friars would appear to have lost no time in rebuilding it, for Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, in reporting Protestant attacks upon the monasteries to his master, Henry VIII., remarks that, in 1543, "an attempt was made upon the Blackfriars at Edinburgh by the captains of a foot band and their retinue in the pay of the governor, while he himself

was absent, but that the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, assembled in defence of the friars, and drove these forces out of the town." This statement, so far as it shows that Edinburgh was a Roman Catholic city in 1543, is no doubt correct, but otherwise it will not stand a moment's examination. That this is so, we need only point to the fact, according to Sadler, that it was "the captains of a foot band and their retinue in the pay of the governor" who did so. We do not suppose we wrong the memory of these gallant captains and their retinue, all soldiers, when we say that to "purge" the convent was not in all their thoughts, and that loot was the object of their attack; nor in saying, seeing they were in the service and in the pay of the pervert Arran, that they were Catholics —Papists having little respect for the priest, less for his confessional, and greedy of spoil. These captains would come into close touch with the regent, and it is improbable that either Cardinal Beaton or Abbot Hamilton of Paisley would tolerate men of any religion different from his own doing so. Under the influence of these two priests he had renounced the Protestant religion, and dismissed his two Protestant chaplains, Williams and Rough, shortly before these outbreaks occurred; and the captains would have been similarly dealt with had they also been Protestants. Sadler's letter is referred to more particularly under Dundee.

In 1558, the year before Knox landed at Leith, the kirk of the Blackfriars was wrecked by the populace.

The stones of the convents, or whatever buildings had been destroyed, mostly by the English, were, in 1560, used up in the building of dykes by the citizens of Edinburgh.

"KIRK O' FIELDS."

It was not the Reformers who blew up the collegiate church of Our Lady in the Fields, after the wretched Darnley had been done to death.

GREYFRIARS.

While there appears to be little doubt that there was a kirk at Greyfriars, nobody knows anything about it; but the probability is that it was destroyed by Hertford in one of his terrible raids. The present kirk of Old Greyfriars was built in 1613, so that the Reformers could not have hurt it, yet it met with the same fate as Blackfriars. It first fell into the hands of Cromwell, whose soldiers destroyed all the wood work; and then into the careless possession of the Town Council of Edinburgh. The Council used the tower for storing gunpowder, with the result that one fine morning it was blown up. The terrible explosion damaged the kirk, and the steeple has never been restored to this day; instead, they tacked on another church. It was in Old Greyfriars that the Solemn League and Covenant was first subscribed, headed by the aged Earl of Sutherland, on the 28th of February, 1638. But this historic edifice took fire on the morning of Sunday, 19th January, 1845, and in a comparatively short time nothing was left but blackened walls. It has since been restored, and amongst the other memorial windows within its walls there is one in memory of George Buchanan.

In the kirkyard of this church stands the weather-

beaten "Martyrs' Monument," and on it we read:—"From May 27, 1661, that the noble Marquis of Argyle suffered, to February 17, 1688, that Mr. James Renwick suffered, were executed at Edinburgh about 100 noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others,—noble martyrs of Jesus Christ. The most part of them lie here." The above period embraces "The Killing Time," of which, as an example of the cruelty inflicted by the later Stuarts, we may give the following tragedy:—

The Open Black Hole of Edinburgh.

Greyfriars Kirkyard, in 1679, was the scene of one of the most shocking tragedies ever enacted in Scotland. Haselrig's murdering of the Scots prisoners after Dunbar was terrible; Glencoe was horrible; but the Open Black Hole of Edinburgh was worse than the two put together for gross cruelty and malignity. After being driven along the wretched country roads by the "dragooning" swashbucklers of Charles II.—the tyrant whom Edinburgh delights to honour, and whose statue, but for the Law Courts, would look down upon the scene—the Covenanters from around Bathgate way, to the number of twelve hundred men, women, and children, were penned like cattle in the inner kirkyard. For five long months of untold sufferings they lay among the tombs, exposed to the elements, their bed the rank grass or the sepulchre itself, with the pitiless troopers on the watch to shoot any one attempting to escape. Some few did escape, many were hanged, and numbers died from the effects of the cruel treatment to which they had been subjected, while hundreds more were shipped to be sold as slaves in the American plantations. The men and women were forced into

the dark hold of the vessel, and the hatchways closed down upon them, so that there was no way of escape for the wretched creatures when the ship was wrecked off the Orkneys. About fifty of the prisoners did reach the shore, the remaining two hundred being drowned like rats in a well. And all the while there were revelries going on within the walls of Holyrood, the king's brother (the future James VII.) having taken up his residence there in view of future contingencies.

ST. CUTHBERT'S.

In 1559, when the army of The Congregation entered Edinburgh, the kirk of St. Cuthbert's had a roof of thatch. It remained in that state for upwards of thirty years, when the thatch was renewed; a gallery and new windows were introduced in 1590; and at the end of the century a new kirk was added to the old one, and both roofs slated. Yet we are gravely told that St. Cuthbert's "was gutted and pillaged by the Reformers!" If so, it is curious that its old pulpit, which was of oak of a very ancient pattern, and covered with carving, escaped the fury of the iconoclasts. Yet it did, for on the demolition of the old kirk the ancient pulpit was placed in the hall of St. Cuthbert's poor-house. When besieging Edinburgh Castle in 1650, Cromwell used the kirk as barracks for his troops. The guns of the fortress were turned upon the old edifice, when the windows and roof were destroyed, and little left of it but bare walls. It was repaired, and opened for public worship in 1655. In 1689, the year following the Revolution, the castle was once more besieged, this time by the troops of King William. It

was defended by the Duke of Gordon, who poured shot and shell into the church to beat out the besiegers. It was greatly injured. The unfortunate kirk was again repaired, but only to be again riddled by cannon shot in the Rebellion of '45. It was unroofed, and remained so for a number of years. The fabric having fallen into a dilapidated state, and showing signs of collapse, it was taken down in 1773 and rebuilt in 1775. The kirk was again torn down and rebuilt in 1894. It is a strange-looking composite building, and exemplifies the pure æsthetics of the nineteenth century restoration-mongers. It is built cruciform, having a north and south transept. The east gable is composed of a chancel, with dome. It is placed between two square towers, each with a canopy. On the parapet of this gable is a large Egyptian cross. It is regrettable that learned men should trade upon the ignorance of their fellows, and put up such a thing on a Presbyterian Church. In the west front is another square tower, 170 feet in height, founded on a rock bed 12 feet below the surface; it is the only portion of the church removed in 1773 remaining in the edifice, and has a fine steeple, in which is a chime of bells. Lying on the ground, beside the tower, is the old bell. The spire has an arrow vane; formerly it was a weathercock; and we would humbly submit that the vane should be exchanged for the ancient weathercock.

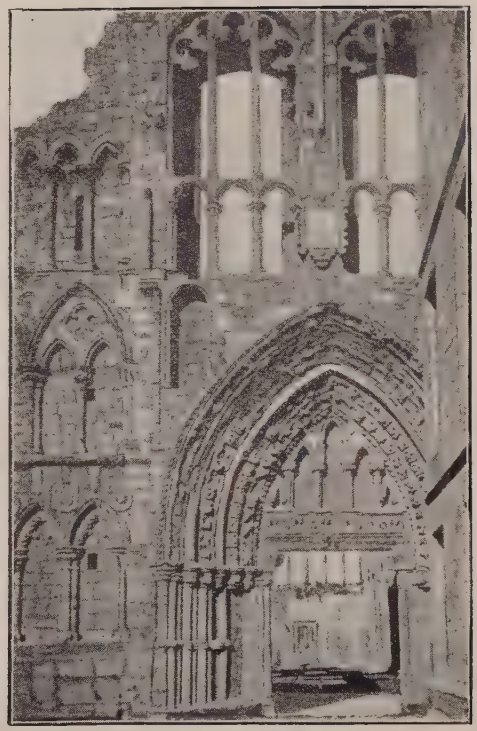
KIRK OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE.

This kirk is evidence of the carefulness of the Reformers. It is still well-preserved, even the windows having the ancient painted glass. Encircled by a

wreath of thistles are the royal arms, and, within a wreath of laurel, those of the queen regent (Mary of Guise). A St. Bartholomew is also there, but its tints are inferior to the deep crimson and gold of the royal arms. These windows date probably from 1556. Among the sculpture above the door there remains an Edinburgh hammerman, and also the arms of the corporation. A credible tradition affirms that it was within this chapel that the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held in 1560; and the General Assembly met a second time within its walls in 1578. It was to this church that the headless body of the Marquis of Argyle was brought from the place of execution in the High Street—a nobleman who, although he placed the crown of Scotland upon his head, was judicially murdered by the king whose effigy stands in Parliament Square.

John Craig was appointed minister of this kirk, and he preached to a very select audience in Latin. He had been twenty-four years in Rome, and from long disuse was unable to teach in the Scottish language. He was under the ban of the Holy Inquisition, condemned to the stake, but escaped in the riot which broke out on the death of Pope Paul IV., the day before he was to have been burned. Subsequently he became colleague to Knox in St. Giles, and was the author of the *King's Confession*, a treatise which afterwards became the basis of the National Covenant. He was one of the two Protestant ministers who married Queen Mary to Bothwell in the great hall of Holyrood Palace, on the 15th of May, 1567, at four o'clock in the morning. She was a second time the same day, in private, wedded to him by a Roman Catholic priest.

ST. MAGDALENE CHAPEL, EDINBURGH.



Photos. by] EAST WINDOW. CHAPEL ROYAL, HOLYROOD. WEST DOORWAY. *[Wm. Duncan, Leith.*

HOLYROOD.

The transepts and choir of Holyrood, as already stated, were greatly damaged by the Duke of Somerset in his invasion of Scotland in 1547, or by Sir Walter Bonham acting under his orders. So great was the destruction that Abbot Adam (who was also Bishop of Orkney) proposed that the ruinous parts, "to wit, the queir and croce kirk might be disponed be faithful men, to repair the remanent sufficiently." This was in 1568. Some repairs would appear to have been executed at this time; but the death of the abbot put a stop to the work. The new bishop showing no inclination to spend money on the dilapidated building, the General Assembly of 1570, in pursuance of the wise policy of the Reformers, compelled him to execute some repairs to stay the waste going on. The bishop (Robert Stewart) was an illegitimate son of James V. by Euphemie Elphinstone, and he obtained a grant of the abbey while still an infant, subsequently exchanging the commendatorship of Holyrood for the temporalities of the see of Orkney. These latter were erected into a temporal lordship, and his son Patrick, Earl of Orkney, was executed at Edinburgh for extortion, tyranny, and rebellion. It is said the bishop became a Protestant. If so, it must have been because he desired to be on what he considered the winning side, for his son was so ignorant that his execution was delayed until he could be taught the Lord's Prayer!

The unfortunate church of Holyrood, after having been again restored and embellished for the coronation of Charles I., was once more destroyed in 1688. Edinburgh was surging with discontent at the attempt

made by James VII. to set up anew the Romish worship within its borders. He had fitted up the church to suit his purposes, and mass was said within its walls. He also put in a magnificent throne for himself, and beautifully carved stalls for the installation of the Knights of the Thistle. He planted a Jesuits' school in Holyrood for the avowed purpose of proselytism, and also a printing press, from which issued polemical tracts in defence of Popery. These unwise acts on the part of the king raised the indignation of the citizens, and a crowd assembled at the palace gate. There was some disorder, and the military fired upon the people, killing twelve of their number, and wounding many more. The guard was attacked from behind, and compelled to surrender, when the enraged citizens burst into the church, tore down the organ, the throne, and the stalls, and burned them at the cross; they also desecrated the royal tomb. While not justifying the outrage, we must regard the circumstances out of which it immediately arose. In all probability, but for the slaughter of the citizens at the command of Captain Wallace, there would have been no outrage committed. At the worst, nothing would have been taken out of the church and burned except the ornaments, and perhaps the vestments. The people of the Canongate had no ill-will to the Knights of the Thistle, or to what was considered necessary for their installation, nor to the sacred building; but they had a strong objection to the establishment of Popery in their midst, to the insistence of the king that their children should attend his Jesuit school, and to be shot down by the military.

The church was again restored, and for the last time, in 1758. It had been repaired at intervals, but

this time, unfortunately, the work was given to an "ignorant" architect to do, and instead of a new wooden roof with lead or slate, he covered the nave, all that was left of the building, with flagstones. The old walls bore up for a few years under this monstrous infliction, but in December, 1768, the roof fell in with a crash, and all was once more in ruins, for which, of course, the Reformers are held accountable! In 1795 the great east window was blown in during a violent storm, but was restored from its own ruins in 1816, while the north-east tower fell about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

HOLY TRINITY KIRK.

This church was founded in 1462 by Mary of Gueldres in memory of her husband, James II., killed before Roxburgh Castle. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and was for a provost, eight prebendaries, and two choristers. "No prebendary," according to the foundation charter, "is to be instituted unless he can read and sing plainly, and understands arithmetic. If any prebendary shall keep a concubine, and not dismiss her after being thrice admonished thereto by the provost, his prebend shall be adjudged vacant."* The College Kirk of Edinburgh was a very beautiful one. It was not demolished by the Reformers; but it was cast down and removed by the North British Railway Company, in 1848, with the sanction of the British Parliament, to make room for a huge coal depot! Mr. Colston, in his history of the church, remarks that, with a view to its reconstruction *facsimile*, the stones were carefully numbered and laid out on the

* Arnot, p. 271. Nimmo, p. 667.

ground on the slope around Burns' Monument on Calton Hill. But during the long thirty years' wrangling that took place over the matter, it is recorded that nearly all the most curiously marked stones were "conveyed" away under cover of night to rockeries and gardens in villadom! A pregnant illustration this of what befell the unprotected stones of the monasteries. Had this occurred two hundred and fifty years ago, or less, the broad shoulders of John Knox would have had to bear this act of vandalism.

DUNDEE.

Various authorities on Scottish story inform us that at Dundee, in 1543, the houses of the Black and Grey Friars were destroyed, the Abbey of Lindores sacked, and the Blackfriars monastery at Edinburgh attacked by the Protestants. Burton, after having given expression to the opinion that "some destructive attacks appear to have been made on the monastic houses by the populace, excited, perhaps, by the horrors proclaimed by the English Commission of Inquiry"—an Inquiry into the state of the convents, which were found to be simply so many cesspools of immorality and crime—goes on to say:—"Sir Ralph Sadler reported these tumults to his master [Henry VIII.], probably putting emphasis on them as a piece of pleasing news. It is unfortunate that we have not his own announcement of them, but only a memorandum of its substance in these terms: 'Sir Ralph shows that the work began at Dundee, by destroying the houses both of the Black and Grey Friars; that afterwards the Abbey of Lindores was sacked by a company of good Christians, as they were called, who turned the

monks out of doors; and that an attempt of the same kind was made upon the Black Friars at Edinburgh by the captains of a foot band and their retinue in the pay of the governor, while he himself was absent, but that the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, assembled in defence of the friars, and drove these forces out of the town.'" * The idea of "the captains of a foot band and their retinue" being hand in glove with "good Christians" in the sacking of convents would be amusing were it not that it displays some confusion of thought. Perhaps the "good Christians" had not forgotten Inquisitor Lawrence; but what remembrance the Roman Catholic "captains of a foot band and their retinue" could have is not very evident.

The above passage is a memorandum, written by George Chalmers on an examination of the Hamilton Papers, No. 28. Unfortunately, no details are given, hence the opponents of the Reformation, taking advantage of this, point to these wasteful acts as glaring instances that the earlier Scottish Reformers demolished convents the year previous to the commencement of the destructive raids of the English under Hertford; they even go so far as to say, that if the Protestants could act so at that early period, there is no reason to suppose the great ecclesiastical houses of the Lothians would have escaped any more than those in Forfar and Fife. This startling hypothesis is based on a bald statement, such as the above memorandum is. But when it is remembered that Sadler was writing to one eager to hear any "pleasing news" which appeared to aid him in his ambitious views towards Scotland, or of anything that would tend to cripple the power of Cardinal

* *History of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 250.

Beaton, allowance will be made for the ambassador falling into error or exaggeration.

Wishart, whom the priests had forced to flee from Montrose, returned to Scotland in the latter half of the month of July, 1543. He was, as we have seen, devotedly attached to the reformed opinions, and preached, under the protection of several noblemen, at Montrose, Dundee, Perth, and Ayr; he also did so at Haddington previous to his seizure by Bothwell, the inhabitants of which he sternly rebuked for deserting the preaching of the Word, and rushing off to the wild mummeries which ushered in the new year. It would appear that while attempting to evangelise Dundee some rioting occurred. These riots took place in the beginning of September, so that he could not have been long in the town before he was interdicted by Regent Arran from preaching. Had he had anything to do with the destruction of the convents during his brief stay, it is incredible that the regent, in his new-born zeal for the Romish faith, and with Cardinal Beaton at his ear, would have allowed him to get off so easily, or that the magistrates, their backs set up by Arran's injunctions, would have merely requested him to leave the place. There is no doubt but that he spoke learnedly, eloquently, and strongly against the erroneous beliefs held by the stupid party in the Church of Rome, and denounced the profligacy of the friars and the prelates, which caused feeling to arise, and may have led to scenes. It also led to conversions, for it should never be overlooked that the inhabitants of Dundee were mainly all Roman Catholics. If we are to believe Tytler, notwithstanding the outcry of the Catholic clergy, and the severe persecution begun in

1534 with the burning of Straiton and Gourlay, "the doctrines of Luther had not as yet made any very general impression upon the great body of the people;"* and if Burton, "the converts to the reformed faith were few and hesitating"† in Wishart's time. If that was so, how an insignificant body of men, such as must have been in Dundee at that period, could destroy two great monasteries, is not easy to understand. Had they attempted such a feat, we are afraid the magistrates would have cast them outwith the town wall, as they did later to their plague-stricken townsfolk. The "rascal multitude" of Catholic Dundee may have had some hand in the work of destruction, but that the few persons favouring the new opinions demolished the buildings is beyond belief. The monasteries would be deserted by their inmates, the buildings would fall into decay, and the materials would go into the houses of the citizens.

It may be said that the burgesses of Dundee were not slack in sending a strong body of their number to the assistance of the Lords of the Congregation at Perth. They were not. But much had happened in the interval between 1543 and 1559. Two horrible tragedies which greatly affected them had certainly occurred since September of the former year, and these were the burning of Wishart—the man who, at the risk of his life, returned to Dundee during the plague, and did what he could for the starving and suffering people, which was more than Cardinal Beaton did—and the aged Walter Mill, "our brother." The preaching of the Gospel had begun to sever the tie between the priests and the inhabitants of Dundee, and the

* *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 359. † *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 252.

stake did the rest; and their battery of cannon at the east end of Perth bridge was their reply to Catholic dogma and Catholic persecution.

INCHMAHOME.

This priory, in the Lake of Menteith, dates back to the middle of the thirteenth century, and was founded by Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith. The church is allowed to be an excellent specimen of Early Pointed. The nave is about 75 feet long, and 25 feet broad, with an aisle on the north; the choir about 66 feet in length, and 24 feet in width; while at the north-west angle of the edifice there is a square four-storeyed tower. There were cloisters and a vestry; a chapter house, with a vaulted roof and semi-circular windows; and the residential buildings required for the prior and canons. Although a ruin, the priory is still in a fairly well-preserved state. The exterior shows that the principal entrance to the church was in the west gable, and the doorway, with its grouping of slender pillars and pointed arches, is a fine example of its style. Unfortunately, the great western window, which was about 15 feet wide, above the gateway, has fallen down, and crumbled into ruins. In the east gable, what was once the eastern window is now built up, but is yet distinguishable from its shape in the wall. It would appear to have been a tall, lance-shaped window with three lights, and the choir was lit chiefly by it. The cloisters and the vestry have well-nigh disappeared. In the interior, there is a row of clustered pillars and graceful arches, separating the aisle from the nave. Two of the arches have fallen, but the two that remain are very fine, reminding one of those in the parish

church of Crail. There are a number of sculptured stones in the choir.

The history of the priory need not detain us; but it may be stated that Prior Adam swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296; that King Robert Bruce was a frequent visitor here, and dated a charter from it in 1310; that Prior Maurice is believed to have been the same Maurice, who, as Abbot of Inchaffray, blessed the Scots before the Battle of Bannockburn; and that, after Black Saturday, the Scots sent hither Queen Mary, then only in her sixth year, to hide her from the English Bluebeard, the tyrant who desired to wed her to his son, latterly Edward VI.

So far as is known, no violence befell this priory from the English invasions, and we have introduced it, as we have done several others, because it is one of the many houses of the "religious" which escaped injury even during "the barbarous times of the Reformers." The buildings, and especially the kirk, have fallen into decay, and into their present ruinous condition, not from indifference on the part of the preachers to their fate, but from poverty. They had no funds in their hands for the upkeep of such a number of buildings which went to make up the Priory of Inchmahome. The Romanists had deserted them, the Episcopalians did nothing during their periods of supremacy towards keeping them in repair, and what could be looked for from the Presbyterians, who needed only the kirk? It was the commendators, and not the ministers, who secured possession of the priory lands. John Erskine, latterly Regent Mar, was appointed to that office by James V.; his nephew, David Erskine, was appointed commendator in 1555, and he held office with only a

slight interruption till 1608, when Henry Erskine, a son of the second Earl of Mar, and grandson of the regent, became commendator, and the last one. They held a close grip of the estates, and to ensure the family in legal possession, James VI., with that callous indifference to the best interests of his subjects for which he was notorious, erected the temporalities into the lordship of Cardross, and, in 1604, granted them to the Earl of Mar, a nobleman who had done no service to the State to entitle him to such a splendid gratuity. The Erskines have continued to lift the rents since then, but have spent nothing upon the priory till lately, when the present proprietor (H. D. Erskine, Esq. of Cardross) erected, in the roofless choir, a canopy over a bit of recumbent sculpture to save it from further decay. The stones of the several edifices which composed the priory will be found in the buildings on the adjacent island of Inchcalla, and very probably in the houses on the mainland as well.

THE MUSSELBURGH MIRACLE.

"The tolbooth of Musselburgh was built out of the ruins of the chapel of Loretto," cry the Catholics, exultantly pointing to M'Crie. The priests do know how to take advantage of the ignorance of their people, few of them knowing anything about M'Crie. It is admitted that he does say so,* and what a handle they have made of it. It has been rolled as a sweet morsel under the tongue ever since. But what of that? They stop short in the middle of the quotation, and, as usual, only give what suits their purpose. M'Crie goes on to say: "On which account the good people of that town

* M'Crie, *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 269.

were, till lately, annually excommunicated at Rome!" This arouses one's curiosity, and makes one wonder what could be the object of the pope in cursing these Catholic "rebels." If it was to frighten them with his spiritual thunder, in the expectation that they would grovel once more at his feet, he was mistaken.

It will be observed that M'Crie states two facts: the building of the tolbooth out of the ruins of the chapel, and the excommunication of the people. It may also be noticed that M'Crie, while recording the fact, does not say who built the tolbooth, nor does he state how the chapel came to be in ruins. The facts are these:— In his first invasion of Scotland, in 1543-4, the town suffered at the hands of Hertford, a man who had respect "for neither monk nor mass, priest nor devil;" and in his second invasion, in 1545, after securing all the booty he could gather in the town and also in the hermitage, set Musselburgh on fire. Besides other damage, the council-house, the tolbooth, and the chapel were gutted. The hermitage and chapel having been repaired, and the wonder-working hermit of Loretto set up again, these two buildings were once more destroyed in 1559, and the friars chased out of the town by the populace, consequent on the exposure of a fraudulent miracle performed by the unscrupulous inmates, who pretended to restore sight to a man "blind from his birth."

So certain were the priests of their ability to deceive the people in the performance of the "miracle," that public announcement was made by them throughout the entire district of what they were going to do, giving as a reason for their conduct that they intended thereby to put the truth of their religion—the Roman Catholic

religion—to the proof.* On the day appointed, a vast concourse of folk flocked into the burgh from all parts of the Lothians in marked sympathy with the friars, and in hopes of a great triumph over the scorners of their holy religion. That all might see, and be convinced of the reality of the miracle, "the young man, accompanied with a solemn procession of monks, was conducted to a scaffold, erected on the outside of the chapel, and was exhibited to the multitude. Many of them knew him to be the blind man whom they had often seen begging, and whose necessities they had relieved," or thought they had relieved, for it was the monks who had sent him out to beg. "All looked on him, and pronounced him stone blind. The friars then proceeded to their devotions with great fervency, invoking the assistance of the Virgin, at whose shrine they stood, and that of all the saints they honoured; and after some time spent in prayers and religious ceremonies the blind man opened his eyes, to the astonishment of the spectators." †

This was all very well, and monk and mob had it all their own way. But only for a day; for on the morrow, at the cross of Edinburgh, the young man made a public confession of the trick by which he and the friars had duped the multitude. He had, he explained, been for many years in the hands of the priests, and under their tuition had acquired the art of turning up the white of his eyes in such a way that he appeared to be blind. To confirm his story, he "played his pavie" by flypping

* Father Keenan, three hundred years later, rests his case for the truth of the Catholic religion on the same ground, namely, the pretended miracles of St. Francis Xavier (*Cont. Cat.*, chap. vii., sec. 5).

† M'Crie, *Life*, vol. i., pp. 321-2.

up the lids of his eyes, and casting up the white, so as to appear as blind as he did on the platform at Loretto. "The detection of this imposture (continues M'Crie) was quickly published through the country, and covered the friars with confusion." It did more. It aroused throughout Scotland the worst passions lying dormant in the breasts of the Catholics, who felt themselves deceived, gulled, befooled, and several of the religious houses suffered in consequence. In the present instance, it resulted in the flight of the friars from Musselburgh, the truth of their religion disappearing with them, and the demolition of the chapel and hermitage of Loretto.

Some years afterwards, the materials from the ruins of the two houses were used in the building of the present tolbooth, and for this "sacrilege" the honest fellows of Musselburgh were annually cursed by the pope until about the close of the eighteenth century. Why did he not curse the cheating friars? Because "corbies dinna pick oot corbies' een." Notwithstanding these dire anathemas of Rome, Musselburgh is still with us, prospering all the more, perhaps, because of them, God blessing, as usual, what the popes curse. Catholics generally delight to get the benediction, and have no apparent objection to be anathematized by their "holy father" the pope and his officers, but those of Musselburgh proving incorrigible, he realised the futility of that form of folly known as barking up a tree.

At Loretto, near Ancona, in Italy, is the holy house which the "true Church" teaches is the cottage in which the Virgin Mary lived at Nazareth, and which was carried by angels from Galilee into Dalmatia in 1291. A few years later it was carried by the same

agency to Loretto, where, except for a little while, it has remained since, to the chagrin of the priests of Dalmatia, but to the great joy and profit of those at Ancona. If there is any truth in the story at all, it would be a case of the flight of the gods, or of a priest, who, having secured possession of a sacred Asiatic statue of the goddess, and, borne up with wings, flew across the Mediterranean Sea: hence the angels. But his "wings" would be the sails of a ship, in which he had taken a passage from the Holy Land to Italy. The effigy of Our Lady of Loretto, near Ancona, stands upon an altar in the church, and is surrounded with golden lamps, the glare from which hides her face. She holds the infant Jesus in her arms. Her image is clothed in cloth of gold, set off with jewels; the effigy of the child is also covered with jewels, though in its shirt. We are told that the angels carried the house across the sea, but, strange to say, they could not protect the Virgin from the French, for in 1796, having taken possession of Loretto, they carried her off. The holy image was away for about seven years, but at the end of that time, on January 5, 1803, it was brought back amid great pomp. Resting on a rich frame, it was carried in procession to the holy house on the shoulders of eight bishops—all highly educated men, we presume —amid the clang of bells, the discharge of cannon, and the cheers of the multitude.

The chapel of Our Lady of Loretto at Musselburgh, although it had not a fame at all equal to that of the holy house at Ancona—not having been borne across the Forth from any part of the "kingdom," not even from holy St. Andrews—had yet a fame of its own, in that, among other pilgrims, it was much frequented by

ladies desirous of heirs, as well as by those in search of health. It was to this shrine that James V. betook himself before his departure for France in 1530 in search of a wife. Anxious to win the favour of Our Lady, he walked all the way from Stirling to Musselburgh on foot. The *spaewife*, or rather, perhaps, the *spaepriest*, would hold out golden hopes to him, for he went on his way rejoicing, and came home with a lovely young wife; but alas! the Musselburgh palmister could not keep her alive, for she departed this life a few short months after her feet had touched Scottish soil.

PLUSCARDEN.

This priory of the Cistercians, six miles from Elgin, was founded by Alexander II. about 1230, and the work went on for many years afterwards. It is a very fine specimen of the Early Pointed style. In an evil hour for it, that notorious Catholic of royal blood, the Wolf of Badenoch, took forcible possession, first pillaging and then setting the church and domestic houses on fire, reducing the greater part of the buildings to bare and blackened walls. This occurred in 1390, while on his wild foray against Bishop Barr; but eight years later Prior Alexander began the work of restoration. A man of some wealth, he rebuilt the choir, and made other extensive restorations.

The Cistercians, in their best days, did good to old Scotland; but, as frequently happened in the religious houses, the two great evils of idleness and plenty corrupted the friars, and within forty years after the death of Prior Alexander, disorders were rife among them. Reports of irregularities at the priory reaching the ears of the Bishop of Moray, who had the right of inspection,

he, after a searching investigation, gave the abbey to the Benedictines at Dunfermline. This is one version, the Rev. Mr. Shaw's, in his *History of Moray*. The other version is Mr. Chisholm Batten's. In his book on Beauly Priory, he attributes the change to the cupidity of the Abbot of Dunfermline. Be this as it may, there is no doubt but that there was something seriously wrong inside the priory, for a petition was presented to the pope, in 1454, to have it united with the Priory of Urquhart, a "cell" of Dunfermline Abbey. Pope Calistus III. granted the petition. About the end of the same year the Benedictine monks took possession, and turned the Cistercian friars out. This transaction was the ruin of Urquhart Priory, which, although well endowed with lands, was soon thereafter deserted by the monks and allowed to go into disrepair; the residents and tenant farmers of the district did the rest, using the stones for building purposes. This was upwards of one hundred years before the Reformation.

The new prior (John de Boys) found Pluscarden Priory in great need of repair, the neglect of nigh sixty years resulting in the vaulted roofs of choir and crossing threatening to fall. This is another pregnant instance of how rapidly huge structures begin to show signs of decay unless measures are taken to preserve them. In his repairs to make the building more suitable for the Dominicans, Prior John reduced the size of the windows, and made other alterations on the houses erected by Prior Alexander. Faint traces of painted figures and other decorations are seen in the lady chapel, and on the low arch between choir and transept. These paintings were described, at the end of the eighteenth century, by Rev. Charles Cordiner, of Banff. In the

lady chapel he observed a variety of Biblical scenes depicted on the vault and walls, while the scene on the arch, which is now visible only as a blue ground with golden stars and some architectural features, he describes as a representation of St. John "about to write, in an attitude of attention, seated under a canopy, and accompanied by his well-known eagle, and is gazing at the bow in the cloud which we see overhead," amid the conclave of heavenly bodies.

The history of this priory yields up one more instance of the thoughtful kindness of the Reformers to the members of a fallen communion, in that the friars here, as elsewhere, were permitted to occupy the priory for nearly thirty years after the Reformation. At all events, they were there as late as the year 1586, which shows that the reputed harshness of the Reformers is all more or less a myth.

The priory, an ivy-covered building, is a ruin; yet while this is so, it is remarkably well preserved, the choir, transepts, and square tower at the crossing being intact, though roofless, and to the south is a long line of monastic buildings, which do not seem to have been seriously injured. The nave does not appear to have ever been built. The refectory, with its fine vaulted roof supported in the centre by two groups of slender shafts, has been long used by the Presbyterians as a place of worship. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the pulpit is of black oak, finely carved, and is said to have at one time stood in the old church of St. Giles, in Elgin. This convent was not injured by the Reformers; it was preserved by them; and the present state of the buildings is attributable to those parties who hold the priory lands.

CHAPTER XV.

WHAT BEFELL THE KIRKS.

DUDDINGSTON.

IN the little village of Duddingston, cosily nestling at the base of Arthur's Seat, there is an ancient kirk—one of the oldest in the realm—bearing daily testimony to the care of the Reformers for parish kirks. From its style, and the structure of the arches, it is supposed to date from the period of the introduction of Saxon architecture into Scotland. A semi-circular arch of great beauty divides the choir from the chancel. There is also a square tower, which adds greatly to the dignity of the old kirk. Among the sculpture around the doorway in its southern face are several fantastic heads and zig-zag mouldings. The church has suffered in the course of centuries; but, considering its great antiquity, it is in a wonderful state of preservation, and worship is still held within its walls. The kirk belonged to the monks of Kelso, who also with it possessed the lands of Eastern and Western Duddingston; but Herbert, the first Abbot of Kelso, in 1128, alienated the estates to Reginald dè Bosco for an annual rent of ten merks, to be paid by him and his heirs for ever.

DUNBAR.

In the "taxatio" of 1176 the first kirk of Dunbar was rated at one hundred and eight merks annually for the pope's use. From this circumstance, it would appear to have been built not later than the middle of

the twelfth century; but it must have suffered during the War of Independence, for Patrick, the ninth Earl of March, founded a second church on the same site in 1342, which he richly endowed—a fabric which stood for upwards of four and a-half centuries.

At the Reformation the stately building was not demolished. Instead, it became the parish kirk, and continued to be so till 1819, when it was taken down, and the present church—a plain Gothic with a fine square embattled tower at the western end—took its place. As an instance of how rapidly decay takes possession of even carefully-built stone structures, and that the Scotch climate may prove too severe for the material used, it may be stated that the present kirk, built of red sandstone, and not quite a century old, is so friable that many of the stones are weather-worn and crumbling away.

Behind the pulpit, in a raised enclosure once forming a part of the older church, is a grand monument in white marble to George, Earl of Dunbar, one of the chief advisers of James VI. in his ill-advised efforts to force Episcopacy upon the Scots. In the front is a life-size figure of the earl, and on each side a statue of a fully-armed knight, while over all is a massive arch bearing alto-relievo figures of Justice, Peace, Wisdom, and Fame. Tyrants and priests know how to make use of the most beautiful words in the language. But their untruthfulness is patent to any one who may choose to dip below the surface.

LINLITHGOW.

The Parish Kirk of Linlithgow (St. Michael's) was founded by David I. It continued in a state of fair

preservation for about three centuries, till 1424, in which year a great fire occurred, destroying the nave. The structure was repaired, greatly owing to the exertions of George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who chiefly ornamented it. The church stands near the palace, and, albeit somewhat unique in appearance, is a beautiful specimen of Early Pointed. The aisles are stone vaulted. It has a very fine square tower, upon which formerly rested a crown, but it was removed in 1821.

As above stated, this kirk was purged of its idols and relics by The Congregation, in 1559, when on their march from St. Andrews to Edinburgh in that year, but they did not damage the structure in any way. As is the case with the churches in Perth, Stirling, and elsewhere, St. Michael's is still with us to testify to the care of the Reformers for parish kirks, and continues to be used even now. But the penalty is constant watchfulness, and the expense is very great. The interior of this church, for instance, underwent little short of a restoration in 1894, principally through the instrumentality of Rev. John Ferguson, minister of the parish, and others, at a cost of about £5000. While we write, it is proposed to overhaul the exterior. Some one anxious to dip into the mortar tub broached the idea that the restoration of the crown on the tower might be a fitting memorial of King Edward's coronation. So it might, but it is a somewhat dangerous experiment. So is the proposal to stone vault the nave. The Abbey of Holyrood succumbed at last to a stone roof, while the stone groined arched ceiling of the College Church of St. Andrews had to be removed, the cause being an echo so pronounced that the preacher's voice was well-

nigh inaudible. A firm of architects having been consulted, they have, after examination of the tower and roof of the nave, prepared a plan and report for the restoration of these. They state that the tower is badly cracked in some places. The south and west walls, from belfry floor to top of parapet at roof, are very much weathered and decayed. In the construction of the triforium and clerestory walls there is no internal indication that the nave has ever been roofed with stone, neither is there any external indication of there having been at any time flying buttresses to resist the thrust of stone vaulting. It may be that the walls at this part (which are 3 feet 4 inches thick) are strong enough to resist the thrust of stone vaulting, without the aid of flying buttresses. . . . Should the heritors resolve to complete the design as originally intended, they strongly recommend, for both structural and æsthetic reasons, that flying buttresses should be introduced, however practicable it may be in this case to construct a vaulted roof without the aid of these features. An estimate of the cost of the several works of proposed restoration is about £8900, made up as follows:—Crown on tower, £1000; rebuilding tower from 45 feet above base, £900; new groined roof, £5000; 18 flying buttresses, £1800; and reslating of aisle roofs, £200.

It was in this kirk that James IV. saw the weird-looking masquerade, passed off upon him as an apparition, which warned him against his fatal expedition to England in 1513, terminating in dark Flodden, a battle ever memorable in the history of Scotland for the great number of nobles and gentry slain, including the king himself. James V. had formed the idea, and had plans drawn, to erect in

St. Michael's a throne and twelve stalls—the throne for himself, and the stalls for the Knights of the Thistle—but because of his sad and sudden death at Falkland, it was never carried out.

THE MURDER OF REGENT MORAY.

It was in the town of Linlithgow that James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh shot Regent Moray, in 1570, from a house belonging to his uncle, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Not only did the archbishop give the assassin the use of his house, but he furnished him with a fleet horse, and, awaiting the result in the town of Hamilton, he, with the whole faction of the Hamiltons, received the murderer in triumph on his arrival in that town. There were also great rejoicings at the Court of France when the news of the assassination reached it, as there would doubtless be elsewhere. Bothwellhaugh had been at Langside, and after the battle he and eight others were condemned to death as rebels who had risen in arms against the young king. These men fought in the Catholic interest, yet "John Knox asked their lives from the regent, and at his request the regent pardoned them and let them go. Knox had saved the life of the wretch who was to be the regent's murderer."* Among other writers, Tytler attempts to minimise the atrocious deed, by endeavouring to make it appear that the assassin was actuated by private revenge; but that it was a politico-religious murder he has to admit, for he says that Bothwellhaugh was "the tool of a faction." That faction was the French faction, and had as its nominal head the Duke of Chastelherault, backed by

* MACKENZIE, *Hist.*, p. 422.

all the power of the Hamiltons, his associates including such men as Argyle, Huntly, Crawford, Cassillis, Eglinton, Lethington, Hume, Seton, Herries, Boyd, Gray, and the Bishop of Ross—men who had resisted the measures of the regent—but the moving spirit in the conspiracy to murder Moray was Archbishop Hamilton, helped by the advice of one Douglas, the messenger of the Duke of Alva. The party was supported by the whole influence of the Spanish faction in England, and by the whole French faction at home. That it was a politico-religious murder, "got up by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Abbot of Arbroath, and other leaders of the Popish party, and well known among the party," admits of no doubt, for "the archbishop confessed that it was so, and that he 'furthered the deed thereof,' just before the rope went round his neck at Stirling Bridge."* Moray out of the way, the Hamiltons considered the crown was within their grasp; and in their mad endeavour to win it they were aided and abetted by the Popish faction. "The whole tribe abetted the villainy."

The story set afloat after the murder, that it was a mere act of private revenge by Bothwellhaugh on Moray on account of the treatment his wife received—the confiscating of her estate of Woodhouselee, putting her out of the house in an inclement season, almost in a state of nudity, and who through rage, shame, grief, and cold had gone mad—was (just as we see it to-day in the case of Czolgosz,† the murderer of President M'Kinley)

* MACKENZIE, *Hist.*, p. 423; also, M'CRIE, *Life*, vol. ii., p. 166, note.

† With reference to this—the religious persuasion in which the wretched assassin, Czolgosz, was reared—the following important paragraph (says *The English Churchman* of October 31, 1901) has

a mere blind to excuse the sanguinary deed; for Spotswood says that James Hamilton had redeemed his life by "making over the lands of Woodhouselee, which were his wife's portion, to Bellenden, justice-clerk, and he refusing to part with them, Bothwellhaugh made his quarrel upon the regent, who was most innocent, and had restored him both to life and liberty." It was Bellenden who took possession of the estate of Woodhouselee, and put out Hamilton's wife. That being so, the husband's vengeance should have fallen on him, but it did not, for Bellenden was left alone, and Moray was murdered. That it was nothing else than a politico-religious murder is confirmed when it is known that Queen Mary settled a pension on the murderer of her brother; and that John Wood (Moray's secretary) was also assassinated a few days after the regent in Fife;* and that Archbishop Hamilton, on his own confession, was hanged at Stirling for his share in the murder.

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been published by *The Manchester Guardian*:—"Everybody has heard that Czolgosz is a Jew. How he came to be a Jew no one exactly knows, but the matter is explained by all our American contemporaries, received by the last mail. It appears that directly after the crime was committed, an organisation of Popish Americans met in the churches of the St. Laurentius Catholic Order, in New York and Philadelphia—both cities are referred to by the journals—and decided that Czolgosz was a Jew! This was a clever method of disowning him. The police records, however, upset the scheme. They verified his Christian American birth, and his having been educated in a Roman Catholic school at Detroit." To the French Catholic, the Jew and the Protestant are one and the same. The same idea is fostered by unprincipled priests in other Roman Catholic countries, and it may be the same in America. The scheme, thus exposed, was to make Czolgosz out to be not only a Jew but a Protestant!

* M'CRIE, *Life*, vol. ii., p. 166; note.

ST. MICHAEL'S KIRK, LINLITHGOW.

THE BURNING OF LINLITHGOW PALACE.

We may not pass from Linlithgow without saying a few words about the destruction of its grand old palace, for the reason that it is a glaring instance of the way in which tradition persistently throws the demolition of our public buildings on the wrong shoulders. It is constantly said that General Hawley's dragoons set fire to the palace when he fell back upon Edinburgh after the Battle of Falkirk, but this oft-told tale has nothing to support it but vulgar error. If any one is to blame, and to be held responsible for that dastardly outrage, it is the Duke of Cumberland. The facts are these: The battle was fought on January 17, 1746, and the defeated general retired to Linlithgow, quartering his troops in and around the palace. On the morning of the 18th he left Linlithgow for Edinburgh. The duke was appointed to the Scottish command on the 25th of the same month, and he arrived in Edinburgh on the 30th. On the same day he set out with his army in pursuit of Prince Charles Edward, and reached Linlithgow on the morrow, taking up his quarters in the palace. Troops were also quartered in it. On the 1st of February he marched on Stirling, and as the army was leaving Linlithgow the great fabric was observed to be on fire. No effort was made to save it, and the structure was soon reduced to the ruin it now is. It was said at the time that the conflagration was the act of incendiaries, and there were good grounds for the suspicion, for, amongst other destructive acts, the elaborately carved fountain erected by James V. was wantonly destroyed, simply because wine had been made to flow from it instead of water in honour of Prince

Charles Edward when he occupied the palace the previous year. The remains are still to be seen in the centre of the court; but a reproduction of the fountain now adorns the front of Holyrood Palace. It is a fine bit of sculptured mason work, and a very pleasant half-hour may be spent in studying the numerous figures, and their various and often humorous attitudes.

RESTALRIG.

In 1560 the First General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is said to have declared the collegiate-church of Restalrig to be a "monument of idolatry," and ordained that it "be razed and utterly cast down and destroyed." Why it should issue such an order is not very clear, for there could be little, if anything, left to "cast down," because Hertford had burned it and everything else, sacred and secular, only a few years previously. There could have been little standing except blackened walls. The truth is, that in consequence of the collegiate-church having been gutted and destroyed by the English Catholics, and rendered utterly useless as a place of worship, the General Assembly ordained that the chapel of St. Mary, which had been repaired in the interval, should be the parish church. This translation was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1609, together with the revenues and pertinents. So that instead of pulling down, the Reformers, in pursuance of their conservative policy, really built up.

ST. BRIDGET'S CHAPEL.

The church of St. Bridget—a chapel held in the greatest veneration, and which had remained inviolate during most turbulent times—was destroyed by Donald

of the Isles (Donald Balloch) in 1462. He ravaged the country around Inverness and Athole, and, storming the Castle of Blair, dragged the Earl and Countess of Athole from the chapel and sanctuary of St. Bridget. After robbing the church of its "holy vessels," vestments, and images, he set fire to it, killing some of the priests and wounding others, in their efforts to save the stuff. His "wyld, wykked Heland-men" carried off everything of any value they could lay their hands on to their ships; but, after embarking, a great storm arose, accompanied by thunder and lightning, during which the greater part of his war galleys were sunk, and the spoil went with them to the bottom of the water. To Balloch's superstitious mind this seemed a judgment from heaven for his sacrilege, so, stripping himself and his men to their sarks, he gathered what was left of the plunder, and walked barefoot to the church which he had so lately stained with blood and fired, performing penance before the high altar. Thus was the venerated chapel of St. Bridget laid waste by a Catholic.

STIRLING.

At what period in our history a stone church was erected in Stirling is unknown, but the founder, probably, was David I., who granted the Parish Church of the Holy Rood to Dunfermline Abbey in 1130. The ancient church was destroyed by fire in 1406, but was rebuilt a few years later. An extension was made in the early part of the sixteenth century by the addition of a larger choir. The structure is now divided into two, the nave, or older portion, forming the West Church, and the choir the East.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether the nave is the church built by the king. There are certain authorities who think that it is, while there are others who consider that it dates no earlier than the first quarter of the fifteenth century. As is usual in well-nigh every ancient Scotch kirk, it is composite, showing the round and pointed arch, with round and clustered pillars, a transition between the Romanesque and Gothic. In interior design and decoration, it is considered by many the most attractive part of the building, but in this respect the choir is not far behind it. The nave is separated from the side aisles by a double row of massive pillars, each about 4 feet 4 inches in diameter; six of them are round, and two decorated. Writing on this part of the structure, a learned and painstaking local authority says:—"We consider the design of the pillars, capitals, and arches, the clerestory windows on the south side, the nave arch with vaulted groin arched ceiling below the tower, to be simply perfect." In this edifice, the great western window is placed in the tower, an arrangement which adds to the length of the interior. To get this window lengthened, an architect—one of the class who denounce the Reformers as "barbaric" creatures—cut in two the beautiful arch which adorned the main entrance to the church; it is now built up. The stately embattled square tower, which adds dignity to the whole fabric, rises to a height, including the turret spire, of about 100 feet. There are four bells in it, one having a very fine tone and supposed to be five hundred years old. Notwithstanding its long-continued use, the bell is quite as good as ever it was. There are several mural tablets of white marble, and also a number of stained

glass memorial windows within this division of the church. After the Reformation, the nave was sadly neglected, while the choir was in favour; but after a lengthened period the Town Council and the inhabitants bethought themselves, and placed the building in the hands of the restoration fiend, who simply changed its face almost beyond recognition. Notwithstanding the neglect and abuse to which it has been subjected, the stout edifice is still in a good state of preservation, and, with proper care and attention to the pointing and the roof, may last for many generations yet to come.

The choir, or East Church, was erected, as above stated, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century by the Town Council of Stirling, on the initiative of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the convent of Dunfermline (of which he was abbot) providing a large proportion of the funds. The choir shows two different styles of architecture, in this case the decorated and perpendicular. Two rows of clustered pillars divide the choir from the north and south aisles; both aisles have vaulted ceilings. The great eastern window, with its long thin shafts running upwards almost its whole length, and undepressed arch, is allowed to be a fine specimen of the vertical style; so, too, are the long narrow windows on either side of it. All the windows in the choir appear to be in keeping with those in the nave; it is the same arch elongated; while the tall and deep buttresses are very effective, not only in resisting the downward pressure of the stone groined ceiling, but in giving light and shade to the fabric. There are a number of stained glass memorial windows in this division of the kirk.

The entire length of the Parish Church is 200 feet

within the walls, and the average breadth 55 feet, while the height is 50 feet; but the vestibule in the centre dwarfs the apparent length of the interior. The principal entrance to both divisions of the building is by the south transept.

THE CHURCH BURNED.

The West Church does not appear to have suffered greatly during the War of Independence; but in March, 1405-6, the town of Stirling took fire, and the kirk also, both being "burned to the ground." The dwelling-houses may have been destroyed, for at that period they were mainly built of wood; but not, we think, the kirk. It may have been reduced to bare and blackened walls, as occurred in the case of other churches equally unfortunate, such as Dunblane, but not absolutely ruined. These walls would be three or four feet thick. As stated above, architects assure us that this church dates no earlier than the fifteenth century, that being the time, about 1414, when the greater part of the work of rebuilding the burned fabric was completed. This may be so; but what of the old walls? A later observant upsets this theory. He finds, from an examination of the base, that "the east wall of the Garden Aisle is a part and portion of the ancient church."* The same careful examination of the base of other parts of the structure might reveal a similar state of matters in the nave proper. Any one who has an elementary knowledge of the story of Glasgow Cathedral is aware that Bishop Bondington has long had the credit of being the man who began the present edifice; but it is now known that Bishop

* RONALD, *Landmarks of Old Stirling*, p. 383. Eneas Mackay, 1899.

Walter, his predecessor in the See, was really the person who commenced to build the double choir, and which discovery adds twenty years to the life of the fabric. Discoveries of a similar nature have been found in other churches throughout the country.

THE MONASTERIES.

Except that the altars were cast down, and the wooden idols burned openly, the Parish Church passed almost scatheless through the troubles of the year 1559. Not so the convents, if we are to credit what is said regarding them. Writing on this part of Scottish story, Buchanan informs us: "Information being obtained that the queen-regent was about to send a French garrison to Stirling to cut off the communication of those who were beyond the river Forth with the other parts of the country, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart, in order to prevent this design, set out in the middle of the night with the greatest silence from Perth; and having obtained possession of Stirling, immediately destroyed the monasteries of the friars, and cleansed the other churches about the city from the detested worship of idols."* And M'Crie says: "The example of St. Andrews, in abolishing the Popish worship, was quickly followed in other parts of the kingdom; and, in the course of a few weeks, at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindores, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, at Edinburgh, and at Glasgow, the houses of the monks were overthrown, and all the instruments of idolatry destroyed."†

For these extraordinary statements, M'Crie gives

* *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 412.
† *Life*, vol. i., p. 268.

very good authorities; but on an examination of those at command, we find he is mistaken. We need not go over the ground again, but would refer the reader to what is said under these respective headings, and in particular Lindores and Edinburgh. But we cannot withhold what one of the authorities he refers us to says, for it pertains particularly to Stirling. "Alwayes when they [The Congregation] had purged the kirks in Stirling, and ordered the friers [to give up their monkish habits], as they had done with them in St. Johnstone and St. Andrewes, destroying the altars and idolls, caused the Evangell to be publicquely preached in the Parish Kirk, then they came to Edinburgh the penult of June." This is an extract from an MS. upon which M'Crie lays great stress, and which he gives in his *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 419-427. It will be observed that nothing is said about the destruction of the convents, a very remarkable thing if the Reformers demolished them. Is it at all reasonable to suppose that an army, after a most fatiguing night march of 34 miles over broken, rugged, flinty, and hilly roads, would, instead of resting, immediately proceed to pull down two great monasteries, the walls of which were from four to five feet thick? To cast down the altars and burn the idols would not be a very difficult task, but to overthrow the convents was another matter. As the enemy was not far off, they had other work on hand, and would not waste their energies in the destruction of houses, except so far as might be considered necessary as a military precaution. It is also said that the Reformers, before leaving Stirling, destroyed the great monastery of Cambuskenneth Abbey! Even if inclined, they could not have done so for want of tools,

EAST AND WEST CHURCHES, STIRLING.

and for want of time, for on the third day they left for Linlithgow.

It may be allowed that what The Congregation began, the townspeople finished. It is matter of common knowledge that the stones of the convents found their way into the dwellings of the inhabitants, for they have been found in the older houses when pulled down to make way for new ones, but it is doubtful if they were permitted to take them away without payment. Prior Macneill and the magistrates would see to that. Out of the convent of Blackfriars the Earl of Mar, in all probability, built a part of his palace in Stirling, and it is known that out of it also the Town Council built dykes. The magistrates even used the stones of St. James' Chapel for the same purpose. As for the valuables belonging to the churches and convents, they would doubtless disappear in the hands of the friars. The Town Council had their share, for they sold two silver chalices at twenty shillings per ounce, the proceeds going to mend the causeway.

THE PRIOR SELLS THE LANDS.

The prior of the Dominicans, Andrew Macneill, in 1560, sold the convent (Blackfriars), with certain lands and endowments, to Alexander Erskine, brother of the Earl of Mar, who lost not a moment in approaching the proper quarter to have the sale confirmed, and Queen Mary as swiftly sent from France her precept affirming the exchange of the church estates for gold. After an interval of eighteen months, the Stirling Town Council petitioned the queen for a grant, in the interests of the town, of the Burgh Mill, with the lands and crofts adjoining, which belonged to the

Blackfriars, undertaking to build the convent dyke therefor, or for any other reasonable purpose at the pleasure of her majesty. The petition does not appear to have been without fruit, for Queen Mary, seven long years after the Reformation, on her attention being called to the unscrupulous way in which the prior was disposing of the lands, buildings, &c., belonging to his monastery, and to save them from further waste, granted a charter conveying the property to the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Stirling. The charter assigns the following reasons for this action on the part of the queen:—

"Considering how dishonestly a number of the said prebendaries, chaplins, and friars have, since the change of religion, disponed, alienated, and given away into the hands of certain private parties the lands, annual rents, and emoluments previously mortified, and also many lieges have claimed to themselves by brieves of our chancery the right to certain lands mortified by their ancestors to the Church, which has happened partly by negligence of the officers of our Burgh, and partly through collusion of the prebendaries, chaplins, and friars, We rescind and annul all sundry such alienations, dispositions, and sasines," &c., and "unite and incorporate all such lands, &c., into one body, to be called our Foundation of the Ministry and Hospitality of Stirling." *

Apparently "sainted Mary" had but a poor opinion of the friars. She was a staunch Catholic, but, a shrewd reader of character, she knew the priests, and was well aware that what was so unblushingly done in Stirling was by no means uncommon in other burghs

* FLEMING, *Old Ludgings of Stirling*, p. 118. Eneas Mackay, 1897.

throughout the country. But her precept only affected the smaller fry: it did not touch the Erskines, in whose favour she had recently granted a rescript installing them as heirs to the Blackfriars. The sale of the Church lands and other property by Prior Macneill—which these orders of the queen prove, and the loss of which so grieves Catholic hearts—shows that the estates were alienated by the monks themselves. There is no doubt but that the friars took good care to feather their own nests, and also those of their relatives and friends, before deserting the two convents, in which they lived years after it is said the Reformers cast them down like a house of cards.

It may be stated here that the Presbyterians had no share in the destruction of the Parish Church of St. Ninians. In the Rebellion of 1745, the Highlanders turned it into a powder magazine, and it was blown up. Except the handsome square tower, which still stands intact, the whole fabric was levelled with the ground. The outrage was committed by the Highland Army of Prince Charles Edward (a Roman Catholic), in 1746, on its retreat north towards the fatal field of Culloden. Buckieburn Kirk was built out of the ruins.

NATIONAL EVENTS.

Several events of national importance took place within the Parish Church of Stirling. In 1543, Regent Arran publicly recanted from the Protestant faith within its walls, and received absolution at the hands of Cardinal Beaton. In the following year four prelates and twenty-one nobles met under its roof, and, the Earl of Arran having resigned the regency, constituted

the queen dowager (Mary of Guise) regent. Queen Mary, when only a child of nine months old, was crowned in the Parish Church by Cardinal Beaton. The coronation of James VI., at the age of thirteen months and some odd days, took place in it on 29th July, 1567; and at the same time John Knox preached a sermon. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met twice in Stirling: in August, 1571, and June, 1578.

JAMES GUTHRIE, THE STIRLING MARTYR.

James Guthrie was one of the ministers of this church. He was a stout defender of civil and religious liberty, and became obnoxious to Middleton and his wretched Privy Council; but that was not the sole reason why the Stirling Martyr was hanged. On more than one occasion he and the Marquis of Argyle rebuked Charles II. for his licentiousness, and with reason, after he was crowned at Scone. He never forgave them, and both were executed at Edinburgh in 1662, the second year following the Restoration. Guthrie was "put through the mockery of a trial at the bar of Parliament, a pamphlet of his affording the pretext for a charge of treason. The eloquent old minister was sentenced to be hanged. When the reader next walks in the Scotch Parliament House—now serving as a porch to the courts of law—let him be deaf for a moment to the resounding hum and clack of tongues, and think of these two, the first of the great array of martyrs for our religion and liberties, standing there so calm and pure to receive their death-doom from a Parliament of drunken slaves. On the gallows ladder Guthrie stood and spoke for an hour to the crowd, as calmly as if he had been standing in his own pulpit at

Stirling. When the rope was round his neck, and the hangman was just about to push him off the ladder, lifting the napkin from his face, he cried, 'The covenants, the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!' A few minutes more and our second martyr had won his victory and received his crown. His venerable head was set above the Netherbow gate, from which his bleached skull was not taken down for twenty-seven years, when the roll of our martyrs was complete."* Argyle, the first martyr, and Guthrie, the second one, as was almost every Presbyterian, were loyalists to the backbone, and that was their reward from one of the most objectionable kings that ever disgraced a throne.

Ebenezer Erskine, one of the founders of the Secession Church, was also one of the ministers of the Parish Church of Stirling before he seceded from the Church of Scotland.

TULLIBODY.

The story of the Stirling Martyrs shows that there were "heretics" in Tullibody in 1537, but of course they must have been there earlier. Indeed, it would appear to have been, as were Stirling and Dollar, quite a nest of heretics. One of them, a Margaret Jamesoun, was condemned as a heretic, and as her experience was that of many others in her rank of life, we may give the sentence passed upon her in full:—

"Ane letter maid to James Murray, maister of aile seller, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all guidis, movable and vnmovabill, dettis, takkis, stedingis, sovmes of money, and vtheris quhatsumever,

* MACKENZIE, *Hist.*, p. 591.

quhilkis pertenit to Margarete Jamesoun in Tulibody, and now pertenying, or onywis sall happin or may pertene to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete, throw non fulfilling of certane pennance ordanit to be done be hir, of the quhilkis scho wes convict in jugement, &c. At Stirling, the aught day of Aprile, the zer forsaid (1539)." *

"The first church of Tullibody," writes "Rix" in the *Glasgow Evening Times*, "was probably founded at the close of the fourth century. It was visited later by Saint Serf on his journeys to Alva, and the village next appears as the camping-ground of Kenneth's army, before the Picts were stricken on the field of Cambuskenneth. The oldest fragments of the present church date back to 1149, when it was a valuable living held by Hugh of Rokesburgh, secretary of the Chancellor of Scotland. In 1170 it became a vicarage of Cambuskenneth Abbey. Till about 1550 it remained in the hands of Rome, and nine years later the French, in the words of John Knox, 'expert enough in sic feats, tuke downe ye roofe of a paroch kirk and made ane brig over ye watter called Dovan, and sae they escapit and gaed to Stirling, and thereafter to Leath.' Shortly after this act of sacrilege—which is regarded, perhaps on insufficient grounds, as fixing an early date at which the kirk was Protestant—it was repaired. In 1580, the stipend having been appropriated by a person who styled himself a 'commendator,' a minister was starved out of the parish. In 1600 Tullibody was united to Alloa Parish, and shortly afterwards fell into disuse and disrepair, till in 1700 only the gables remained, as they do till this day. Laird Abercromby

* M'Crie, *Life*, vol. i., p. 366.

rebuilt the kirk in 1760. The present roof dates back only to 1824, and the bell to 1838, when it replaced a ship's bell gifted by Sir Ralph Abercromby. The churchyard is full of interest, one monument, the Maiden Stane, commemorating an incident of 1449, when Martha Wishart, of Myreton, betrayed by the priest of Tullibody, was buried in solid stone and laid where he had to pass on entering the church. Peter Beaton was a match for what he probably regarded as feminine spitefulness, for he built up the church door —the traces of it are still clear on the north wall— and broke out the present door on the south. The Maiden Stane is now an ordnance survey mark. Tullibody was not monotonously virtuous, as this incident, as well as the naming of one church seat as the 'Devil's Pew'—from the character of the family which occupied it—sufficiently indicates. Tullibody Kirk is thus of an ancientry as undoubted as the quaintness of its monuments and the beauty of its situation." It was not the Reformers, then, who did violence to the ancient kirk of Tullibody. It was the French Catholic soldiers who did so.

BURNTISLAND.

The old parish kirk of Burntisland is a square edifice, buttressed at each corner, with a somewhat squat, vane-capped tower rising in the centre—a quaint-looking bit of architecture, with Dutch written across its face. The church was erected about 1593, and the model on which it was built, it is said, was that of the North Church at Amsterdam. In the interior, four square columns, connected by arches, support the roof. Although not a pre-Reformation kirk, it craves a notice here because

of two notable events which happened within its walls, these being, the king subscribing to the National Covenant, and a discussion on the revision of the Bible.

It was in this kirk that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in 1601, and James VI. was present. Although he subscribed to the Covenant, first at Dunfermline and next here, it cannot be said he was either a Reformer or a Presbyterian, or that a solemn promise publicly made had long any binding obligation on him. He had too much of the blood of the Guises in his body to be either the one or the other for long—only so long, indeed, as it suited his purpose to be so. Yet one of the notable events above mentioned led the way to an all-important factor in British history, of which he was the agent, and for which he has got scant acknowledgment. We allude to the revision of the Bible then in use, and to which he gave his sanction. It is often said that certain bishops and other gentlemen in England, by working upon his vanity, prevailed upon James to authorise the work, but that, we think, is an error; for at the meeting of this Assembly, the need of a new translation of the Bible was broached. He and the ministers did not get on very well; their plain speaking was very unpalatable to him, and rankled in his heart long after he had deserted Scotland. Neither did he forget the discussion over the errors in the English translation of the sacred Scriptures. The minute of the Assembly runs:—

"Sess. ultima, Maii 16, 1601. It being meinit by sundrie of the brethrene that there was sundrie errors that meretit to be correctit in the vulgar translatione of the Bible and of the psalms in meter, in the quhilk heids the Assembly has concludit as follows:—First,

anent the translatione of the Bible, that every ane of the brethrene wha has best knowledge in the languages, employ their trevils in syndrie parts of the vulgar translatione of the Bible that needs to be mendit, and to confer the same together at the next Assemblie. As for the translatione of the psalms in meter, it was ordeinid that the same be revised by Mr. Robert Pont."

For some reason or other the revision was not proceeded with, and the project fell through. But there can be no doubt that the discussion of the subject in his presence, and with which he felt sympathy, had a great influence in bringing forth at a later date the Authorised Version now in use. Remembering the circumstance, the proposition was more likely to come from him than from certain gentlemen in England.

CHAPTER XVI.

WHAT BEFELL THE CATHEDRALS.

ABERDEEN.

THE Cathedral of St. Machar is well worth the attention of any one. It is especially so to us, in view of our object, as an illustration of the tenacity of tradition about the much-abused Reformers.

St. Machar, a monk of Iona, is said to have been sent north by St. Columba, and that he settled on the banks of the Don. Here he fixed his cell towards the close of the sixth century. Time rolled on, and in 1136 King David I. translated the See which King Malcolm II. had founded at Mortlach to Aberdeen. Whatever may have been the size of the church at this period—and King David was partial to large kirks—it was pulled down by Bishop Matthew Kininmunde. He built another in its place during the last quarter of the twelfth century, which was cast down by Bishop Cheyne with the intention of re-building it on a larger scale, but was prevented by the War of Succession. He was an opponent of the Bruce, and was forced to take refuge in England. Nevertheless, when the country once more enjoyed peace, King Robert restored him to his See, at the same time giving instructions that the kirk should be rebuilt out of the revenues belonging to the diocese. This order does not appear to have received much attention at the hands of the

bishop nor his immediate successors, for instead of erecting the church, they built two palaces for themselves, one at Aberdeen and another at Fetternear.

THE BUILDING OF THE CATHEDRAL.

It was not till 1356 that Alexander Kininmunde, the fifteenth bishop, and who originally designed the cathedral, began to build on the site of the demolished church. The work went on slowly; but Bishop Lychtoun pushed on the building, erecting St. John's Aisle about 1430, and laying the foundations of the three towers. His successor paved and roofed the nave. Bishop Elphinstone, between 1484 and 1511, rebuilt the ancient choir, covered the roof of the nave with lead, at the charges of the king, and completed the great tower at the east end, in which he put three great bells. Bishop Gavin Dunbar completed the structure, finishing, about 1522, the south transept (Dunbar's Aisle), and also the two towers at the west end. It was this bishop who ceiled the nave with the celebrated heraldic shields, carved out of hard oak in low relief by one James Winter.

The exterior of the existing building is plain, but the western end, with its superb window of seven tall peculiar lancet lights above the great doorway, flanked on either side by a tower 112 feet high, including the spire, gives dignity to the edifice which otherwise it would not have. In the interior there are two rows of circular pillars, all granite, as is the rest of the structure, supporting seven pointed arches, clerestory walls and roof, while the windows in the south aisle have double mullions of granite. The original length of the cathedral is supposed to have been 200 feet;

it is now, without choir and chancel, 112 feet, and about 68 feet in breadth.

THE WRECKERS AT WORK.

As will doubtless be observed, the structure has had a rather chequered history. Excluding St. Machar's cell, and any wooden or other edifice, the church was on two separate occasions demolished by Catholics, Bishops Matthew Kininmunde and Cheyne. There was no apparent necessity for taking down these handsome buildings. Another site could easily have been secured for the newer and larger structures. These two churches were "absolutely destroyed," yet neither Spotswood nor Keenan, nor other detractors of the Reformers, has one word to say. We never hear anything condemnatory of Catholic demolition of kirks in old Scotland. It is only the destructive work—mostly suppositious—of the Reformers that is denounced.

Of this very building it is said that, in 1560, "the Reformers of our religion attacked it while carrying on a pilfering expedition against the relics of Popery. The barons of Mearns, along with some enthusiasts of Aberdeen, after having destroyed some of the monasteries in the new town, proceeded to Old Aberdeen and began the work of spoliation there." After having accomplished this very remarkable feat—had it been done by the Catholics, we would say it must have been one of their miracles—they went and laid violent hands on the cathedral. Enraged at not securing any booty, "they wreaked the fury of their vengeance upon the venerable edifice by stripping it of its roof and carrying off the lead, along with the three valuable bells presented to it by Bishop Elphinstone. They shipped their booty at

ST. MACHAR'S, ABERDEEN.

Aberdeen, with the intention of selling it in Holland; but their avaricious views were disappointed, for the vessel, with the whole plunder, sank within a mile of the harbour, near Girdleness. At the same time they demolished the choir and chancel on the east end. . . The further progress of the work of destruction was prevented by the timely interference of Huntly, who, by his exertions, saved the building from complete destruction." Another miracle! For if it means anything, it means that the chancel and choir, built of granite, of solidity and strength, came tumbling down as the result of some blows from forehammers and pinches, axes, halberts, and pikes.

The whole is a very formidable indictment, yet we fail to see what "the Reformers of our religion" had to do with the affair. The barons of Mearns may have done so—the nobles and gentry of the period had a keen eye for "booty"—but the few "enthusiasts," what could they do? The story has all the appearance of a romance, and a mixed up one—a priest's tale, similar to those wonderful stories to be found in the Aberdeen Breviary. The lost lead, the lost bells, and the sunk ship is just the story told of St. Andrews, and also of Elgin. But the whole tale is discounted by the fact that the Privy Council ordered the removal of the lead from the roof of St. Machar's. Would it have done so had there been none to remove? Yet it did. "It is necessary," runs the order, "that provisioun be maid for the entertaining of the Men of Weir quhais service cannot be sparit. . . . Therefore appointing the lead to be taken from the cathedral churches in Elgyne and Aberdeen, sauld and disponit upon for sustentation of the said Men of Weir." Poverty was the cause of the

removal of the lead. The order was issued in 1568, eight years *after* the roof is said to have been stripped by "the Reformers of our religion," and the lead and bells lost in the harbour! There may have been a raid on the monasteries, and also on the cathedral by the barons of Mearns, but even they could not have destroyed all these large and massive structures as represented. The convents would go, as elsewhere, into the houses, barns, and dykes of the parishioners.*

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* There was a beautiful piece of carved marble in Aberdeen Cathedral, said to be one of the finest pieces of altar carving in the world, with lovely white angels, rich tracery, &c. This altar piece was destroyed by the minister himself in 1649, doubtless for good reasons, and in accordance with the instructions of the General Assembly in 1640. For this "act of vandalism" he has been denounced ever since as a ruthless smasher of the sacred and the beautiful. But those who do so do not appear to understand the sensuousness of the Romish ecclesiastical system, nor human nature. There are some weighty observations by Symonds on such a carved group, as there are also on lovely paintings, illustrative as they are of one phase of Roman Catholic worship. "The masterpieces of Titian and Correggio," he says, "lead the soul away from penitence, away from worship even, to dwell on the delight of youthful faces, blooming colour, graceful movement, delicate emotion. . . . . How can the worshipper endure the contact of those splendid forms, in which 'the lust of the eye and the pride of life,' professing to subserve devotion, remind him rudely of the goodliness of sensual existence? The sublimity and elevation which art gives to carnal loveliness are in themselves hostile to the spirit that holds no truce with the flesh. . . . . A single illustration may be selected to prove how difficult even the holiest-minded and most earnest painter found it to effect the proper junction between plastic beauty and pious feeling. Fra Bartolomeo, the disciple of Savonarola the Florentine reformer, painted a 'St. Sebastian' in the cloisters of St. Marco, where it remained until the Dominican confessors became aware, through the avowals of female penitents, that this picture was a stumbling block and a snare to souls. . . . . No other ideas but those of heroism, constancy, or faith were meant; but the painter's art demanded that their expression should be eminently beautiful, and the beautiful body

The cathedral must have been repaired, for it was occupied till 1688, when a great calamity befell it. Cromwell was in possession of the city in the early fifties. Orders having been given to strengthen the barracks on the Castlehill, the buttresses of the church, handy and suitable, were cast down and carried off by his troops. This greatly weakened the building. Ignorant workmen were sent to replace the buttresses by others, with the result that the great eastern tower gave way, crushing the transepts in its fall, in a fierce storm of wind and rain a few months before the Revolution. Notwithstanding all its vicissitudes, the kirk, viewed as it stands, although it consists only of the nave and side aisles, is a highly picturesque and interesting object.

THE BOOTY.

It is curious that we should be told that the Earl of Huntly saved the cathedral "from complete destruction." If so, how was it that his son, William Gordon, the last Roman Catholic bishop of the See, should have made

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of the young man distracted attention from his spiritual virtues to his physical perfections. *The picture was withdrawn.*"* What were "the lovely white angels" of Aberdeen but Pagan Apollos; or if they were of the other sex, what if not beautiful Venuses? Men forget, too, the solemn charge which Ezekiel brings against the wicked and corrupt Aholibah. "For when she saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity; and as soon as she saw them with her eyes she doted upon them, and sent messengers unto them into Chaldea."† Such a scene may be seen any day in the church of St. Anthony at Padua, the cathedral of Orvieto, &c.

* SYMONDS, *The Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 26-29.

† EZEKIEL xxiii., 14-16.

a grant of the barony of Fetternear to the laird of Balquhain in 1566 for his services in saving this very cathedral from destruction? If the earl saved the kirk, the estate ought to have been given to him; yet it was not, for his own son gave it to Balquhain for saving the edifice. This transaction occurred six or seven years *after* the Reformation.

The barons got no booty, we are told; but this cathedral, at the Reformation, "enumerated, as part of its riches, upwards of a hundred pounds weight of gold and silver plate, besides a vast quantity of jewels, a valuable library, and a splendid sacerdotal wardrobe." What a wail we hear over the lead and bells. But what became of all these valuables, about which we hear never a murmur? The father of the bishop, aided and abetted by the canons—all Roman Catholics—secured them all. It was the Earl of Huntly who secured all this booty. It was he who made off with "the holy vessels and whatever men could gain off," which belonged to the ancient cathedral of St. Machar. Yet there are authors who charge John Knox and his friends with the theft, and tell us that "the Reformation" swept all away! Such base and unscrupulous tactics on the part of Catholics and Episcopalians clearly demonstrate that there is a conspiracy somewhere to deceive the Presbyterians, and to throw them off the scent.

THE SEAL OF ST. MACHAR.

As the cathedral seal of Iona tends to reveal the religion set up there, so does the cathedral seal of St. Machar reveal the religion set up at Old Aberdeen. It is a representation of the nativity, but sym-

bolises the holy child Jesus under the mystical form of a fish. Of course, the Aberdonians are told that the fish is an ancient, if not the most ancient, Christian symbol, as old, for instance, as the pelican. It is a very old religious symbol, much older than Christianity. Jesus was not known by any such name or symbol in Jerusalem, nor throughout Judea, and the Scriptures do not call Him so. When and where, then, did He become known as The Fish? "About the very time when the Bishop of Rome was invested with the Pagan title of Pontifex the Saviour began to be called Ichthys, or 'The Fish,' thereby identifying Him with Dagon, or the Fish-god." Tammuz was known by this name, and so was Bacchus. "Jerome calls Dagon 'the fish of sorrow,' which goes far to identify that Fish-god with Bacchus, the 'Lamented One;' and the identification is complete when Hesychius tells us that some called Bacchus Ichthys, or 'The Fish.'"* Nineveh, the ancient capital of Assyria, in one of its meanings, is The Fish; it was so called because Dagon, the Fish-god, was set up there, and worshipped. Ever since the day when the Emperor Gratian bestowed the title of Pontiff upon Damasus at the end of the fourth century, in the apostate Church "what has gone under the worship of Christ has just been the worship of that same Babylonian divinity, with all its rites and ceremonies, precisely as in ancient Babylon." The pope's mitre identifies him with Dagon, for it is the gaping mouth of a goodly-sized fish, as may be seen at a glance. His bishops also wear the same droll-looking bonnet when going through their ceremonious performances in the church. So did the

* Hislop, *The Two Babylons*, p. 114, *note*; also pp. 215, 247, and 252.

Queen of Sheba, as did also the heathen goddess Cybele when blessing the people with the hand of the Lord!

BRECHIN.

Brechin was a seat of the ancient Celtic Church, and the Culdees lingered longer here than anywhere else in Scotland, until the thirteenth century, when they were finally absorbed by Papal monks of the order of Cluniac. David I., in the last days of his earthly career, and while suffering from a painful disease, founded the cathedral in 1150, and made of the old abbacy a bishopric, liberally endowing it.

It was not the Reformers who reduced the kirk of Brechin to its recent dimensions. Until 1807 it was a stately Early Pointed fabric, with aisles, but these and other important parts of the structure were removed and destroyed during the "restoration" carried on in that year. These "vandals" were of the nineteenth century, when not a breath of excitement over religion was in the air, and not of the sixteenth, when the country was convulsed by revolutionary changes in Church and State. Wretched as was the taste of the restoration-mongers, they had the sense to leave the square tower alone. The church has once more been restored, at a cost of £12,000, the memorial stone having been laid by the Grand Master Mason of Scotland on September 22, 1900.

Adjoining the kirk is an ancient round tower of the same type as the one at Abernethy, the only two of the kind in Scotland. It is a circular column of much elegance, 86 feet 9 inches high, and, with the spire, rises to a height of 102 feet. It is believed to have

been erected in the ninth or tenth century, and used as a watch or belfry tower (perhaps both) by the Culdees. The door, which is 6½ feet from the ground, has several carved figures. On one side are effigies of two monks, and on each side of the sill a grotesque animal in a crouching posture, while the lintel bears a representation of the crucifixion.

DORNOCH.

The Cathedral of Dornoch was built by Gilbert Murray, Bishop of Caithness, a notable Scot in the first half of the thirteenth century. Statesman, soldier, priest, and saint, he succeeded to the See in 1222, at a time of great activity in church building, and dipped deep into the mortar tub. The structure was in the Scotch style, that is, a composition of two or three designs, in particular the Norman and Early Pointed.

This cathedral was more fortunate than many of its fellows further south, in that it escaped violence till 1570. In that year it was set on fire by Mackay of Farr and Sutherland of Evelix in the course of a clan feud with the Murrays of Dornoch—a squalid quarrel between the Murrays and the earls of Caithness—and the roof destroyed. Bare and roofless, and exposed to the elements for thirty-five years, the fabric became greatly weakened, and was so dilapidated that in a high wind in 1605 it collapsed. This happened on the very eve of the Gunpowder Plot, and when the news arrived of that dastardly attempt to blow up King James and his Parliament the coincidence of time at once impressed the imagination of the people. In characteristic phraseology Sir Robert Gordon refers to both incidents. "The same verie night (he says) that this execrable plott

should have been put in execution, all the inner stone pillars of the north syd of the body of the Cathedral Church at Dornogh—lacking the rooff before—were blowen from the verie roots and foundation, quyt and clein over the outer walls of the church; which walles did remane nevertheless standing, to the great astonishment of all such as hath sein the same. These great winds did even then prognosticate and forshew some great treason to be at hand; and as the divell was bussie then to trouble the ayre, so wes he bussie, by these hiss fyrebrands, to trouble the estate of Great Britane." And the "divell and hiss fyrebrands" are still "bussie" at their work.

The structure was in a great measure restored by Sir Robert, as tutor of his nephew, the Earl of Caithness, and other heritors, in 1616. Of the original building only the central tower and several windows, including the fine western window of five lights, are preserved. After Episcopacy had been abolished in 1641, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act making a new settlement of the endowments of this cathedral. The Act granted 800 merks annually, or eight chalders of victual, out of the rents of the diocese of Caithness to the minister of Dornoch. Now mark the difference between Catholic and Presbyterian procedure. As we have seen in the cases of Aberdeen, Beauly, and Stirling, the bishop in the one case and the priors in the other two, had full powers to gift away or sell the estates, and consequently over the rents; but here the minister had no such powers, but had to pay out of his stipend 200 merks yearly to the master of the Grammar School, and 300 for the upkeep of the fabric of the cathedral-kirk.

BRECHIN CATHEDRAL.

Notwithstanding the desire of Parliament to keep the cathedral in repair, owing to the changing circumstances of the times the edifice fell again into ruins, but was almost rebuilt in 1835-1837. The "restoration" appears to have been rather ruthlessly gone about, the pillars of the nave, with their sculptured capitals, having been utilised in the foundation walls of the building. It will be observed that the Reformers had no hand in bringing ruin on Dornoch Cathedral. For the church as it now stands, and which has simply been murdered, we are indebted to the *modern* architect, who can, when he chooses, be as barbarous as the *ancient* "iconoclast."

DUNBLANE.

Dunblane Cathedral consists of a nave with aisles, a choir, a chapter-house, and a square tower. It was founded in 1140 by David I. Of his church there remain the lower four storeys of the tower, a fine specimen of Romanesque, and the nave, an excellent example of Early Pointed. It is possible, however, that the parts of the tower referred to may have been erected by Malcolm Canmore, or even earlier, as Dunblane was a station of the Culdees. The nave is 130 feet in length, 58 in breadth, and 50 in height, and has eight bays. Although small and without a triforium, it is greatly admired, Ruskin considering the west window the finest in the world. The choir is 80 feet in length, 30 in breadth, and about 45 in height. It is considered to be inferior to the nave, although the style is more advanced. The chapter-house is built against its north wall. The clerestory is beautifully shafted, and in some parts filled with foliated work, and is thought to

have been executed about the middle of the thirteenth century. The entire building, although without much of the elaborate decoration of many other abbeys, excels them in beauty of proportion and depth of moulding. There are a few interesting monuments in the building, and a marble slab commemorates the tragic death of Margaret Drummond and her two sisters. Archbishop Robert Leighton left his large library of fourteen hundred volumes for the benefit of the clergy of the diocese of Dunblane.

Bishop Clement (A.D. 1233-1258) is said to have rebuilt this cathedral. Regarding this, authorities differ, some stating that he did so, others that he erected the nave, while others, again, say he built the choir. Spotswood says he "restored the decayed church." Clement was a learned Dominican, and after effect had been given to the pope's bull, to which we have already drawn attention, he became wealthy, having left, when he departed this life, "a stately sanctuary, rich in land and heritage, served by prebendary and canon." It is thought he secured, in accordance with the bull, the fourth part of the teinds of all the parishes within the diocese of Dunblane for his own support, also the dean and canons, and the restoration of the church. Evidently he was not quite so simple as his predecessors are said to have been, for he seems to have kept a good grip of the recovered "patrimony of the poor."

THE CATHEDRAL DAMAGED.

About fifty or sixty years after the cathedral had been restored, Edward I. of England, in his savage foray into Scotland in 1303, stripped the lead from its roof,

and the western part of the edifice stood roofless for one hundred and twenty-five years. It would appear to have been re-roofed, but how such a building, always in a semi-ruinous condition, except during the half-century above alluded to, could be "absolutely destroyed" at the Reformation in 1560 is a mystery. There could not have been much left to destroy, but the Reformers, after "purging" it and casting down its eight altars, fitted up the choir, and used it as a parish church. It has continued to be so ever since.

It is not at all probable that the Reformers damaged the building to any great extent; for, in 1573, the General Assembly had, as it more than once had before, the subject of "upholding cathedral-kirks which were parish kirks" before them, and ordered the existing laws to be enforced until more effective provisions should be enacted by Parliament; and again, in 1588, the Assembly appeals to the king, craving him to avert the ruin which threatened, among others, the Cathedral of Dunblane.

THE ESTATES.

What had become of the estates of this diocese? Bishop Chisholme helped himself and his friends to the lion's share of what remained of the estates belonging to Dunblane. He was the father of three natural children, for whom he provided portions by alienating the patrimony of the see.* The large silver candlesticks and other ornaments, as also the "holy vessels," disappeared; but if we may judge from what occurred at Perth, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and elsewhere, Bishop Chisholme and his canons would see to them.

The see was thus again reduced to the lowest ebb

* KEITH'S *Catalogue*, p. 105.

by a Catholic bishop. The revenues were so "slender and mean" that, in 1617, the Scottish Parliament annexed to it the remnants of property belonging to Crosraguel Abbey and the Priory of Monymusk, and, still further to help the impoverished diocese, attached to it, in 1621, the deanery of the chapel-royal of Stirling.* From this time forward to the Revolution, except from 1638 to 1662, the Episcopalian bishops enjoyed the emoluments, but they do not appear to have done much, if anything, to uphold the edifice.

THE CATHEDRAL RESTORED.

The Presbyterians have restored Dunblane Cathedral (the choir in 1873, and the nave in 1893), and they will take as good care of it as ever the Catholics did. It is a question, however, if the structure ought not to have been left alone. Certainly Ruskin, the celebrated Scotsman, thought so. "The Master's" opinion on the restoration of this cathedral is worth quoting:—"Restorations are always either architects' jobs or ministers' vanities, and they are the worst sort of swindling and boasting. That of Dunblane Abbey, the loveliest ruins in Scotland (and, in its way, the loveliest in the world), would be the most vulgar brutality Scotland has committed since the Reformation. I had rather hear she had run a railroad through it, and thrown the stones of it into the brook."

DUNKELD.

One of the most ancient religious houses in Scotland is Dunkeld. An establishment of Columba, it is

* NIMMO, *History of Stirlingshire*, vol. i., p. 122, who gives SPOTISWOOD'S *Religious Houses*, p. 288, as his authority. See also note by Nimmo's editor.

DUNBLANE CATHEDRAL—RESTORED.

believed to have been founded about A.D. 570, and tradition loves to record that Kentigern and Columba were resident here together for six months. About the middle of the eighth century a stone erection took the place of the wooden school and convent, and in 848 Kenneth Macalpine replaced it by a new one. This building was either repaired or rebuilt by David I., and the nave of the present cathedral is probably his. If this is so, it is one of the oldest in the country, and cannot be later than the middle of the twelfth century. The style of the architecture is of a composite character, exhibiting features of Norman and Early Pointed. A lofty Gothic arch, reaching nearly to the roof, divides the nave from the choir, while the roof is supported by rows of round pillars of the later Norman style, and the arches are Pointed. The choir was founded in 1318 by Bishop Sinclair, a soldier-priest who came into prominence during the War of Scottish Independence, while the chapter-house was built by Bishop Lauder in 1469. In the latter year the same bishop began to build the tower, which was finished in 1501 by Bishop Brown. The western window is a work of florid character, surmounted by a canopied moulding; and the side aisles, of diverse design and beauty, are Middle Pointed. In the porch of the choir may be seen the tomb of the notorious Wolf of Badenoch; while inside is that of Bishop Sinclair, beneath the floor, and marked by a square slab of blue marble. In a recess of the southern aisle of the nave is the tomb of Bishop Robert Cairney, who pulled down the old thatched houses in which the prelates dwelt, and erected instead a spacious residence in the first half of the fifteenth century.

COLUMBA'S BONES REMOVED TO DUNKELD.

Dunkeld has an interesting history. There are two or three outstanding incidents to which we may allude. It was to this kirk that Kenneth Macalpine removed the bones of St. Columba from Iona in the middle of the ninth century, the effect of which was that Dunkeld became the centre of authority of the Celtic Church, which for about a century and a half had its principal school or college here. It is said that the king did this to testify his respect for the relics of this "apostle of the Scots." On the other hand, it is maintained that he did it because the relics were considered to be unsafe in Iona, owing to the terrible ravages committed by the Norsemen on the island in 802, and again in 808 and 828. In the latter year the buildings erected by Abbot Cellach were levelled with the ground by these raiders, who slew some of the monks and forced the remainder to take safety in flight. Fear of the Norsemen, and veneration for St. Columba, as well as policy, would doubtless actuate the king, so that both statements are probably correct.

THE KING'S BISHOP.

Dunkeld was one of the seats of the Culdees so ruthlessly put down in favour of Roman Catholicism by David I., its last abbot being made a bishop by the king about the year 1127. Had the abbot been made of sterner stuff, and refused to have anything to do with Rome, he would have been cast out by the king, as he did the monks of St. Serf. This see had several distinguished bishops. Among them was Bishop Sinclair, a brother of the laird of Roslin, and, as stated

above, the founder of the choir. It was he who defeated the English invaders at Donibristle in 1317. The Fifeshire horsemen, five hundred strong, terrified at the number of King Edward's ships and the landing of a numerous body of armed men, fled without striking a blow; but the bishop, with sixty of his servants, met the fugitives, and upbraided them for their cowardice. Seizing a spear from the nearest horseman, he shouted, "Turn ye; turn ye for shame, and let all those who love Scotland follow me!" The horsemen did so, and the English were driven back to their ships with great loss. For this gallant action King Robert the Bruce declared that Sinclair should be his own bishop, and by the name of "the King's Bishop" he was long known. Another distinguished bishop was Gavin Douglas, priest, statesman, soldier, and poet. He had an adventurous career during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but he is best remembered as the translator of the *Æneid* into the English language, the first poetical translation of any classical author into the vulgar tongue.

THE REFORMERS UNJUSTLY ATTACKED.

As was to be expected, the convent of Dunkeld, during the long period of one thousand years, from its small beginnings under Kentigern and Columba in 570, to the Reformation in 1560, and from thence till now, has undergone not a few changes. The buildings have suffered a great deal. Nobody knows for certain what has become of the church built in the eighth century, nor of the kirk erected in the following one. Hence there are no ruins of them, and the architect is dumb. Dumb, too, is he over the outrage committed by Bishop Gavin Douglas in 1514, when he laid siege

to the present cathedral and battered it with his cannon. It is only when the Reformers come upon the scene that the barking begins.

One writer assures a sympathetic world that "the Cathedral of Dunkeld was reduced to its present ruinous condition at the time of the Reformation." But, like most of his class, he takes care not to enter into particulars. It's the knife-grinder over again. "Story? Story? Lor' bless you, sir, I had no story to tell!"

Another, and that the most recent, is, unfortunately for himself, not so cautious; off his guard, he condescends to details. Writing in the *Architect* of June 18, 1900, on Dunkeld Cathedral, he says that "the edifice suffered the common fate of Scottish ecclesiastical buildings at the time of the Reformation." This is just a repetition of the older criticism, and is worthless. But he goes on to say: "The windows were smashed, and the doors torn from their hinges."

And so the murder is out. The Reformers smashed the "windocks" and cast down the "dooris" of the kirk of Dunkeld, and the stout edifice became a ruin!

The admission is valuable as a genuine specimen of the prejudice with which architects, with a few honourable exceptions, approach the subject of the ruined abbeys of Scotland. In their hatred of the Reformers, whom they assume to have been, and denounce as, the destroyers of the churches, they will not pause to examine into the subject, but merely repeat what another architect has said, and proclaim their foregone conclusions with the persistence of the sleuth-hound.

As already stated, the abbey withstood a siege in 1514, when that learned Catholic, Bishop Gavin

Photo. by] DUNKELD ABBEY *[A. C. Burge.*

Douglas, battered it with his cannon. That did it no good. Then, this cathedral was theftuously unroofed by the laird of Cairdney some thirty years *after* the Reformation, and although the choir was roofed by Stewart of Ladywell at his own charges in 1600, the edifice was never the same afterwards, and certainly not the nave. Referring to this abbey, Burton says:—"The building as it now stands, no doubt bears mark of rough handling; but it probably suffered more injury in standing a siege of Highland Jacobites after the Revolution than it received from the Reformers."* There is no doubt but it did. That these writers are in error the order issued by the Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stewart, and Lord Ruthven, regarding this very kirk, should satisfy any reasonable creature. We shall refer to it presently. When one-half of a house is exposed to all kinds of weather for a few years, and the other half for hundreds, commonsense might tell one what to expect, and especially architects. Long ago Billings pointed out the true cause of the destruction of the abbeys, but his successors know better than he, and allow nothing for neglect or even the weather.

THE CHURCH REPAIRED.

At varying intervals the choir has been repaired by the dukes of Athole, assisted by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and with such success that this five century and a-half old building is so well preserved that it is still being used as the parish church! This part of the cathedral is certainly not in ruins, and neither is the chapter-house. Indeed, the latter is nearly as good as on the day when it was built—"a

* *History*, vol. iii., p. 354.

fine, firm fabric!" Above the chapter-house was the charter-room, and below is the burial place of the Murrays of Athole. To this family the Government, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, handed over the care of the cathedral, and it is held by the dukes of Athole for behoof of the Presbytery of Dunkeld.

ELGIN.

The first cathedral-kirk for the diocese of Moray was at Spynie, where there was also the bishop's palace. Although only two and a-half miles distant, the place was found to be inconveniently situated for markets, &c., and on the bishop petitioning Pope Honorius, he appointed the church of the Holy Trinity of Elgin to be the cathedral-church. This kirk the bishop, as customary, at once proceeded to demolish, and to erect a grand cathedral in its place. The foundation stone of the new church was laid in July, 1224, by Bishop Andrew Moray in the reign of Alexander II. Laid out in the form of a Calvary Cross, the cathedral is a combination of the Romanesque and Early Pointed—what Sir Henry Dryden would call Scotch. Billings is our authority for saying that of all the ecclesiastical structures in Scotland, the kirk at Elgin was "at once the most stately and beautifully decorated." And Ferguson says that "perhaps the most beautiful building in Scotland is, or was, the cathedral of Elgin." It was a magnificent edifice, which only skilled labour and great wealth could erect. It is said the pope caused some Continental prelates to contribute towards the building of this great temple of the gods. It was originally 289 feet in length, while the nave and

side aisles were 87 feet broad, and the choir and cloisters 79 feet. There were five towers: two at the east end each 60 feet high, and two at the west end 84 feet, while there was a still lofter one in the centre 198 feet, including the spire, all pierced by semi-circular arched and lancet windows.

The principal entrance to the church, which was placed between the two massive but elegant western towers, consisted of a handsome pointed arch, 24 feet in height, richly decorated with eight plain and eight fluted pilasters, charmingly encrusted with lace-like, toothed and flowered ornaments, a centre shaft dividing the doorway into two, with egg window over it; and above these the great western window, 27 feet high, lancet arched, and originally fitted with mullions and ornamentation similar to the gateway beneath. The great building extended away to the east. The aisles were separated from the nave by two rows of stately pillars; and both nave and choir were lighted by a double row of windows and a great dome overhead. Between these two stood the walls of the great central tower, and on either side were the transepts. Beyond was the chancel, with its two rows of fine lancet windows, all stained glass, under which stood the high altar and the tomb of Bishop Moray, the founder, while above was the great eastern window, and a large Omego, similar to the "Round O" of Arbroath, 12 feet in diameter. The whole building had a most imposing exterior, and no less so an interior, with its stately pillars elaborately carved, great arches, and lofty dome —all calculated, with the images of comfortable-looking saints, tortured sinners, grinning and comic ecclesiastical devils, and the ghostly fathers silently flitting in, out,

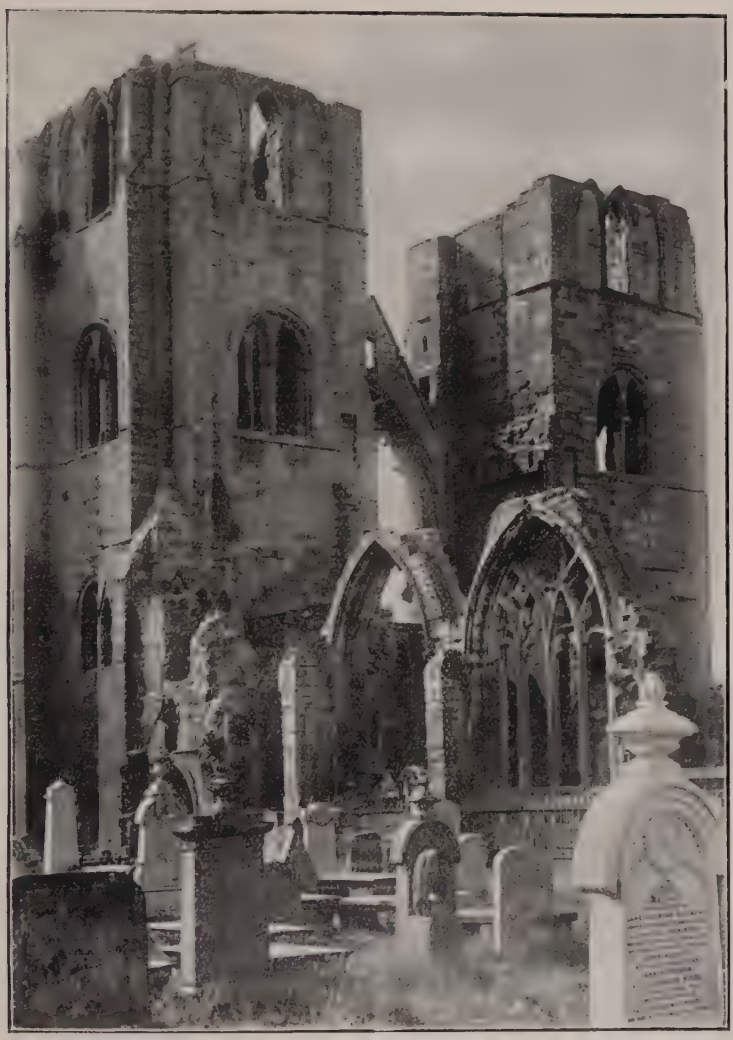
and about, to overawe the imaginations of a superstitious people.

Of this immense pile of stonework there remain the two western towers, the great west door, part of the south walls, the octagonal chapter-house, with its strikingly beautiful pillar supporting an elegant roof consisting of an assemblage of arches, the lavatory, &c.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Common tradition, on the one hand, points to the Reformers as the destroyers of the cathedral; while, on the other, we are gratuitously told that the structure "escaped the violence of the mob" at the Reformation. Let us look into the story of how it came into its present ruinous condition for a minute or two, and endeavour to find out the truth, for it is evident that both statements cannot be correct.

Forty-six years after Bishop Moray laid the foundation stone, a great calamity befell Elgin Cathedral. It took fire in 1270, but whether by accident or design is not known, and all was consumed except the bare walls. It would appear to have been restored towards the latter end of the same century. But in an evil hour, for interfering with some preserves of the Church domains, the Earl of Buchan (a younger son of Robert II.) was excommunicated by the aged Bishop Barr of Moray, and in revenge he determined to murder the old man. With a band of horsemen, "wyld, wykked Heland-men," he rode hot haste to Elgin, but not finding the bishop, set fire to the houses. The dwellings of eighteen canons, the hospital, the kirk of St. Giles, and the great cathedral, all succumbed in the confla-



ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

TOWERS AND TRACERIED WINDOWS.

gration. This occurred in 1390. He burned a large part of the town also, as he had done the town of Forres the preceding year. The bishop complained to the king of his son's persecution of the Church, the ruin of holy things, and his own pitiable condition in that he was scarce able to find the necessaries of life for himself and his dependants. As Spotswood would say, "all was ruined," or with Father Keenan "absolutely destroyed." But should Bishop Barr have passed the dread sentence of excommunication on a poacher? It was a cruel sentence by a Catholic bishop, savagely resented by a Catholic noble. For these and other atrocities, the earl received the very appropriate name of The Wolf—the Wolf of Badenoch. An old legend tells that he did penance for his sins at the cross of Elgin, "on his bare and bended knees." He also did penance at the door of the Blackfriars Church at Perth, where, however, he was at last received into the bosom of holy Church, and absolved at the altar, by Walter Traill, Bishop of St. Andrews, on his engaging to make due restitution for his misdeeds. He gave liberally of his ill-gotten gold and lands, and the Church was satisfied.

THE CATHEDRAL RESTORED.

The unfortunate cathedral was repaired and extended, but not, it would seem, entirely rebuilt, as some writers say it was. The original walls appear to form part of the edifice, in particular the western towers, and the side near where the south transept stood. The date of its completion at this time is unknown, but believed to be not earlier than 1450. Half a century later, in 1506, the great central tower fell with a crash, and

again a great portion of the cathedral was in ruins. Bishop Forman began the work of restoration, and thirty-two years thereafter, in 1538, the cathedral was finished. "When entire," says Rhind, "and in its pristine glory, this magnificent temple must have afforded a splendid spectacle. A vast dome, extending from the western entrance to the high altar, a distance of 289 feet, with its richly ornamented arches crossing and re-crossing each other, to lean for support on the double rows of massive pillars. The mellowed light streaming in at the gorgeous windows above, and flickering below amid the deep and dark shades of the pointed aisles, while the lit tapers on the altars twinkled through the rolling clouds of incense; the paintings on the walls; the solemn tones of the chanted mass; the rich modulated music of the choir; and the gorgeous dresses and imposing ceremonies of a priesthood, sedulous of every adjunct to dazzle and to elevate the fancy, must have deeply impressed with awe and veneration a people in a remote region in a semi-barbarous age, and with nothing around them, or even in their uninformed imaginations, in the slightest degree to compare with such splendour. No wonder that the people were proud of such a structure, or that the clergy became attached to it." One could almost believe he was listening to Gibbon, where he describes the introduction of the temple ceremonies of the Pagans, with their sacrilegious lights and the odour of incense, into the Christian Church at Rome. It was a grand spectacular scene, and is still with us. One does not require to go back to a "semi-barbarous age" to see the impression it creates on "uninformed imaginations;" it may be seen often enough appealing

to an *informed* imagination in the civilized Scotland of the twentieth century. Priests are quite as good playactors now as then.

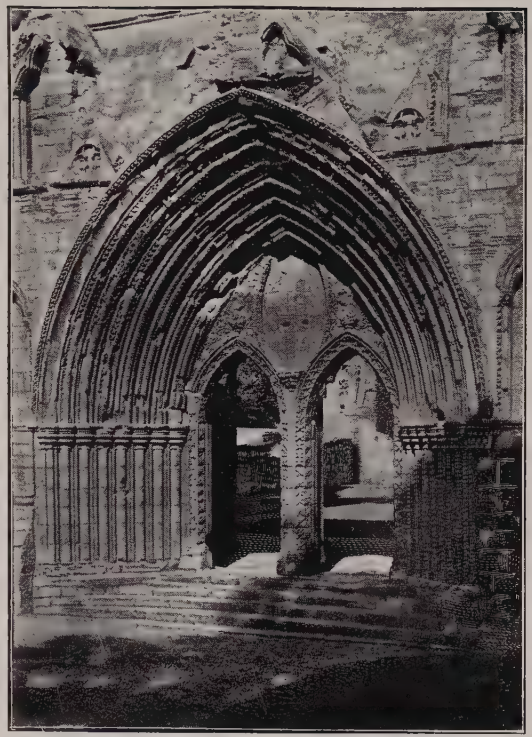
THE CATHEDRAL IN RUINS.

To the reforming zeal of John Knox and his friends, as hinted above, is commonly ascribed the present condition of the cathedral. Nothing could be further from the truth; there is no foundation whatever for such a statement. But, following the execrable example set by Edward I. and his successors on the English throne, the Privy Council of Scotland, in need of funds to pay the soldiers in 1568, stripped the lead from the roof, or a portion of it, as was done at Aberdeen. It was not the preachers who did this; it was the Government. This "sacrilege" was concurred in by the bishops of Orkney and Galloway, two members of the Privy Council; and there being no funds, except those in the hands of the Catholic bishop, the magnificent building began gradually to decay. But the Government derived no benefit from its unworthy act. The lead was shipped from Aberdeen to Holland for sale, but it never reached its destination, for the vessel containing it foundered, it is believed, shortly after leaving the harbour, a tale, however, which is told of several other sacrilegious cargoes of lead. It is this incident to which Dr. Johnson refers, in his *Tour*, when he says:—"I hope every reader will rejoice that this cargo of sacrilege was lost at sea." The orthodox Doctor, in giving expression to such an opinion, seems to have forgotten that there were sailors on board the unfortunate ship.

In Chambers's *Annals of Scotland* it is stated that "on the night of the 4th December, 1637, arose ane horrible high wind, which blew down the rafters of Elgin Cathedral, left without slates eighty years before." The slates, then, were off the roof in Catholic times, two, if not three, years before the Reformation, and while John Knox was in Geneva; yet Dr. Johnson, an Episcopalian, considered the ruins of Elgin Cathedral proof of "the intolerable violence of the reforming ruffians!"

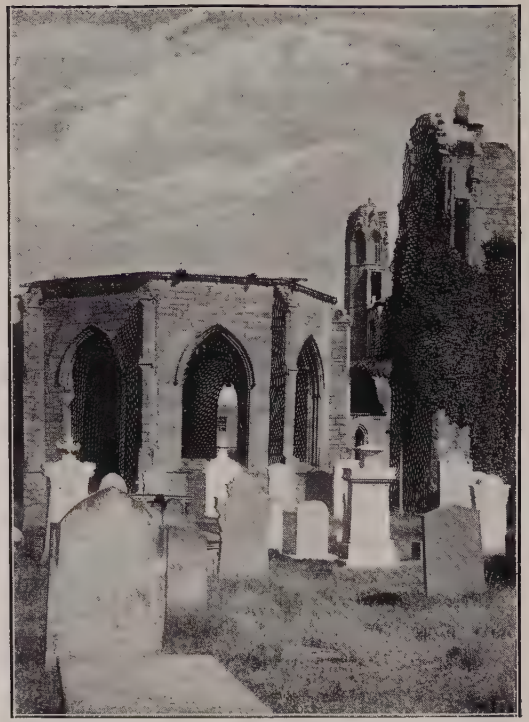
If we take the two statements as substantially correct, it is apparent that part of the roof was left without slates in 1557, and part stripped of its lead in 1568, so that the Catholics are as much to blame as the Privy Council for the demolition of this cathedral. If the Presbyterian ministers did little to preserve the structure, the Episcopal bishops did less. After 1580, they preferred to conduct their services in the church of St. Giles. They were in and out from 1572 till 1688, and did nothing towards the upkeep of the fabric during their occupancy of the see. Every other year during this period the General Assembly insisted and called on the authorities to do their duty in the matter of repairing cathedral-kirks which were parish kirks, such as Elgin was, and save them from the ruin threatening them. They were not very successful, it is true; but surely their efforts to save the church buildings deserve something better than abuse.

It is credibly believed that the soldiers of the Commonwealth did much damage to this cathedral when in the north in 1651. The destruction of the embellishments of the great western window is laid to their charge, and so is the mutilation of the images



MAIN DOORWAY.

ELGIN CATHEDRAL.



CHAPTER HOUSE.

GREYFRIARS ABBEY, ELGIN.

of saints and angels and other carvings.* The abused and neglected buildings, roofless and exposed to all kinds of weather, could not hold together, and, breaking away, the great central tower once more fell in 1711, the debris filling the whole body of the church. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood then stepped in, and, turning the great structure into a common quarry, took away the "auld stanes," and built cottages, byres, and dykes with them. This went on till 1820, when a tardy Government stepped in, put a stop to the devastation going on, and actually granted a sum of money for the preservation of the ruins out of the

* Burton says that groups of Popish worshippers assembled secretly in Elgin Cathedral to perform their idolatrous rites as late as the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714). This may account for the action taken by the General Assembly in 1640, when it instructed, in its efforts to disabuse the minds of the people of their veneration of idols, Mr. Gilbert Rose, the minister of Elgin, to take steps to remove the timber partition, or rood screen, which divided the nave from the choir. The rood screen would be the great attraction, for "on the west side was painted in brilliant colours, illuminated with bright stars of gold, the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. This piece was so excellently done that the colours never faded, but kept hail and sound as at the beginning, notwithstanding that this college or channery-kirk wanted the roof since the Reformation, and no hail windows therein to save the same from storm, snow, sleet, or wet, which I myself saw, and marvellous to consider. On the other side of this wall of timber, towards the east, was painted the day of judgment, but all is thrown to the ground."† For taking this drastic action, the name of Mr. Rose has been execrated ever since; but those who do so forget that the Dominican monks of Milan did much the same thing, and with less excuse, when they cut through Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated fresco of "The Last Supper," and mangled the figure of the Saviour, in order to make the door of their *dining-room* larger! In Scotland, the painting was cast down to prevent idolatry; in Italy, the fresco was destroyed that the monks might have a bigger and wider door whereby they might enter the easier to fill their bellies.

† SPALDING, *History of the Troubles in Scotland.*

revenues of the diocese, a part of which had fallen to the crown.

From all this, it will be seen that neither John Knox nor his friends (Dr. Johnson's "reforming ruffians") had any hand in the destruction of this great temple. It may be stated that Father Gordon said mass, and for the last time, within the walls of Elgin Cathedral in 1595, thirty-five years *after* it is said to have been wrecked by the preachers! Having said mass, he and his uncle, the Earl of Huntly, and other sixteen persons, took ship at Aberdeen for Denmark, their destination being Poland.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE.

It may also be mentioned that the palace pertaining to the diocese of Moray—Spynie Palace,* a palace which is said to have been the most magnificent episcopal residence in Scotland, and in strength and grandeur not inferior to any Scottish baronial castle or house of the period—was inhabited by the Roman Catholic bishop of the see till 1573. The last one, Patrick Hepburn, died at this date, thirteen years after the Reformation.

THE ESTATES.

Alexander II. endowed the diocese of Moray by the gift of an extensive estate on the banks of the Lossie. What became of it? Bishop Hepburn, before his decease, made it over to Regent Moray. After the death

* The precinct of this palace is said to have contained ten acres, and was enclosed by a high wall. It was laid out in pleasure grounds, with fine walks, and had gardens well stocked with the finest of fruit trees, imported from the Continent.

of the bishop, the palace and the remaining Church lands were made over to the Episcopal Church. The bishops of that sect (except for a period of sixteen years, when the castle and estates were formed into a temporal lordship by James VI., and conferred upon Alexander Lindsay, with the title of Lord Spynie) occupied the palace and drew the revenues down to the death of the last bishop in 1686, upwards of one hundred years, when the castle and lands fell to the crown at the Revolution in 1688. The palace, as was the case with the cathedral, became the prey of the inhabitants of the district.

GREYFRIARS KIRK.

In the first half of the thirteenth century a convent of the Franciscans, or Greyfriars, was founded in Elgin by Alexander II. It has all disappeared except the kirk, and of it only the walls remain. It is situated towards the south-east side of the town, in Greyfriars Street, and the walls form a picturesque ruin within private grounds.

CHAPTER XVII.

WHAT BEFELL THE CATHEDRALS (Continued).

GLASGOW.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL is one of the most interesting houses in Scotland, both from an architectural and historical point of view. We will devote a portion of the space at our disposal to it, and endeavour to expose the mischievous falsehoods in constant circulation about the contemplated destruction of this building by the Presbyterians.

The early history of the cathedral is lost in obscurity,*

* It would appear that Kentigern, after a period of missionary work in modern Clydesdale, had to flee to Wales. Returning from thence some years afterwards, when the troubles had subsided, he settled on the Molendinar Burn, and built a kirk at or near the spot where the present cathedral stands about the year 560. It may have been built of stone similar to the one on Inchcolm, combining kirk and cell, or wood, or even wattles and clay, and perhaps rebuilt of stone before his death. If this is so (for some authorities affirm that "Mongo" was a holy man who had a cell here, and whose sanctity was held in such esteem that the cathedral was dedicated to him), it is interesting to note that he began his labours on this spot one hundred and sixty-three years *after* Ninian had set up his kirk at Whithorn, and one hundred and thirty-eight years *after* St. Patrick went to Ireland; but it was three years *before* Columba set foot on Iona, and thirty-seven *before* Austin ("Saint Augustine") landed upon the island of Thanet. Some writers state that Kentigern came from Orkney, and preached the Gospel to the Strathclyde Scots; while others say that he was a Pict, born at Culross on the Forth, and received his education at the Culdee monastery kept by St. Serf, who ordained him. Whatever may be in the first part of this statement, it is unfortunate for the second part that Skene discounts it, and puts forth satisfactory reasons for concluding that St. Serf

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

but it would appear that David I. erected it into a bishopric in 1129, and appointed John Achaius to the see. The bishop proceeded to build a church, probably on the site of an older one, and the king endowed it in 1136; but it took fire in 1190, and, being mostly of wood, was destroyed. It was rebuilt by Bishop Joceline in 1197, but of that edifice little remains. It is said that for upwards of a century after the commencement of the cathedral by Bishop Joceline, the choir, and even the crypt, remained without a roof to protect the central portion from the severity of the weather.

While this may be so, the present cathedral was commenced by Bishop Walter (1208-1232), who, Mr. Thomas Lennox Watson, author of *The Double Choir of Glasgow Cathedral*, says, on the strength of the

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lived two centuries later than Kentigern! It is further said that the second junction of Orkney to the Pictish kingdom in 682, led to the mission of St. Serf thither in 700; and if that is so, he could not have taught Kentigern. A wonderful man was St. Mungo, or rather the priests have tried hard to make him out one. According to them, he was a great miraclemonger. The legend is that on the evening of the same day on which he left St. Serf, he lodged in the cell of a holy man named Fergus, near Kearnach, to whom it had been revealed that he should not die till he had seen the holy Kentigern, who it would seem was already a saint! Shortly after his entrance, holy Fergus expired. Having placed the body on a car, to which were yoked two wild bulls, he commanded them to carry it to the place ordained of the Lord! Casting off their wild habits as if they were garments, the animals quietly did what they were bid, and, followed by the saint and a great multitude of people, carried the body to Cathures, at that time the name of Glasgow, so at least the story says. Having come near a neglected cemetery, they rested beneath some old trees. Here the remains of the holy Fergus were laid to rest, and this being the spot ordained of the Lord, holy Kentigern took up his abode and built his cell. Another legend is, that having set out early in life to evangelise the pagans in the west, and while travelling along the banks of the Forth, past Tullibody, he came to a place supposed to be Airthrey. At Airthrey,

evidence supplied by the building itself, was the real originator of the double choir as it stands. Bishop Bondington, his successor, pushed on the work. Mr. Watson dates the completion of the north and south aisles of the lower church, or crypt, about the year 1240, and the choir, aisles, and chapels of the upper church about 1250; the middle compartment of the lower church he fixes about 1260; and not earlier than 1270 comes the building of its eastern aisle and chapels and the transept stairs. Building operations would appear to have been carried on for more than two centuries, in the course of which period the nave was no doubt added, and the structure was at length completed in the time of Bishop Cameron, who died in 1446. It should be mentioned, however, that Bishop Blackadder,

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then, or some hamlet near it, he found his advance blocked by two large rivers flowing separately into the Forth. Being a man of God, faith came to his aid, and he commanded the two streams to become one. The legend says they obeyed! The Allan merged its waters in the Teith, and behold! stretching from bank to bank of the Forth a ford invited him to cross. This miracle Kentigern accepted as a token that the Almighty approved of his missionary dedication, and would bless his work. We are afraid the monk who invented this tale did not know the geography of the district in which he pitched his miracle. Apparently, Jocelin, the monk of Furness, and the biographer of Kentigern, who wrote about the end of the twelfth century, did not know everything. Then there is the great miracle of the lost ring of lax Queen Cadzow being found in the mouth of the salmon, to which we will refer presently. There is also the story about the robin, the head of which had been accidentally torn off, being restored to life by the saint; and that other of how, all the lights having gone out one winter night, he kindled the refectory fire by breathing on a frozen branch plucked from a bush, causing it to burst into flame, besides many more such miracles to which we cannot even refer. That Catholic priests should retail such fabulous stories to their flocks is perhaps not surprising, but that Presbyterian ministers should do so, and turn saintmongers, is, when not laughable, humiliating.

during his occupancy of the see from 1484 to 1508, did much to adorn the cathedral. It was he who founded the aisle to the south of the fabric, and which bears his name. The building is Early Pointed. It is 319 feet in length, and 63 feet in breadth; has 147 pillars, and is lighted by 159 windows, many of the latter being of very fine workmanship. In the centre is a square tower, with four tall lancet lights in each square, which, including the spire, reaches to the height of 225 feet. The exterior appearance of the church is rather disappointing in its severe symmetry; but the interior makes ample amends.

The nave, with its high-pitched roof, is a fine specimen of architecture, being at once striking and beautiful. It is separated from the side aisles by two rows of massive clustered pillars. The principal entrance is at the west end, but the south door is the one commonly in use. The great western window, with its four lancet lights, is very fine. The choir is divided from the nave by a bit of architecture of a most ornate character: a grotesquely carved screen representing the seven deadly sins. This part of the great building is entered from beneath the organ gallery, a lovely specimen of carving and sculpture. The choir is separated from the aisles by a double row of massive clustered columns, which, with their beautiful foliated capitals, cut in bold relief and different in design, are allowed to be unequalled in Scotland. "The composition of the nave and choir," says Rickman, "is different, but very good. In the choir the capitals are flowered, in the nave plain. . . . . The west door is one of great richness and beauty, and bears a strong resemblance to the doors of Continental churches, being a double door with

a square head to each aperture, and the space above filled with niches. The general design of the doorway is French, but the mouldings and details are English." Behind the choir is the lady chapel, one of the most exquisite portions of the fabric; and adjoining it is the chapter-house, in which the bishops held their ecclesiastical courts. The dripping aisle, so called from the constant dropping of water from the roof without any apparent source, is the lower part of the unfinished transept.

The crypt, which is under the choir, the lady chapel, and the chapter-house, is divided into three portions, known respectively as Joceline's, Lauder's, and Blackadder's. All three show such "a solidity of construction, such richness of groining, and such beauty of detail in the pillars and varied capitals as render them artistically of the highest value, and the finest thing of the kind in the kingdom." It is of most original architecture, and is the most difficult bit of work in the entire structure. The piers from which the vaulting springs are so arranged that vistas are obtained from every part to the shrine in the centre, and the result is one of the most complicated and exquisitely beautiful specimens of vaulting in Europe. This surprising and impressive place is 108 feet in length and 72 feet in breadth, and is supported by rows of massive clustered pillars, sixty-five in number, each being 18 feet in height, while some are 18 feet in circumference. There are forty-one windows, yet the light is of that dim religious sort affected by the priests. It was in this part of the cathedral (then called the Laigh Kirk) that Sir Walter Scott laid the scene of Rob Roy's mysterious warning to Francis Osbaldistone.

Much stained glass has of late years been inserted in the numerous windows of the cathedral, and especially in the great western window; but while many coats of many colours are there, there is not a solitary Jew among the figures. The blasé magnificence of the depicted shapes in the gorgeously-coloured dresses which it has pleased imaginative art to adorn them with—dresses which were never worn by either prophets or apostles—and their stilted attitudes, makes the whole gaudy show too unreal and artificial to benefit any rational or undemonstrative soul. They can only please the vanity of the donors, and excite the open-mouthed wonder of the vulgar crowd. However, there are those who are delighted with the windows, and who assure us that "the cathedral is now one of the most richly decorated temples (!) in Europe." It is very remarkable the way in which Presbyterian ministers are being led by painters, sculptors, architects, and glass-stainers to allow their fanciful and imaginative works to be set up inside and outside churches. Materialism is their forte, and their art tends to create and keep alive superstition, ending in symbolism.

"THE WARLIKE BISHOP."

We may not enter into the history of the cathedral, not that it wants interest, for it is full of it, but it would take us away too far from our object. We cannot, however, altogether pass over Bishop Robert Wyschart (1272-1316), known in Scottish story as "the warlike bishop." On the death of Alexander III. he was appointed one of the lords of the regency, and at Norham braved the wrath of Edward I. by denying that he had any signorial right over Scotland. Keenly alive to the significance of Scottish independence, he

sympathised with all efforts made to obtain that result, and, hating the unscrupulous conduct of the English king, took a prominent part in the eventful struggles of the period. He was the friend of Wallace and also of Bruce, joining the former shortly after he had set up the Scottish standard, and the latter at Scone, when out of his own closet he supplied the robes in which King Robert was crowned. The bishop granted Bruce absolution for having stabbed "the Red Comyn" (Sir John of Badenoch) beside the altar in the Grey-friars church at Dumfries. Wyschart had been captured by the English in 1302, but was delivered from prison on swearing fealty to Edward. Once out of jail, he again joined the patriotic party, and brought upon himself the resentment of the English king, who accused the bishop to the pope. Boniface VIII. immediately deserted the Scots, and, ignoring his former declarations in their favour, with gross inconsistency addressed a bull to the Scottish bishops commanding them to be at peace with the King of England, and threatening them with severe penalties in the event of their disobedience. At the same time he addressed a special letter of admonition to the Bishop of Glasgow, dated August 13, 1302, ordering him to desist from all opposition to Edward. How the pope *loved* old Scotland the following passage from it will show:—

"I have heard with astonishment that you, as a rock of offence and a stone of stumbling, have been the prime instigator and promoter of the fatal disputes between the Scottish nation and Edward King of England—my dearly beloved son in Christ—to the displeasing of the Divine Majesty, to the hazard of your own honour and salvation, and to the inexpressible detriment of the kingdom of Scotland. If these things are so, you

have rendered yourself odious to God and men. It befits you to repent, and by your most earnest endeavours after peace to strive to obtain forgiveness."

Heedless of papal bulls and papal thunder the undaunted and patriotic bishop held on his way, and as opportunity offered, fighting the common foe the one day and the next addressing the Scots, assuring them of ultimate victory, clinching his argument by declaring that it was far better to fight for King Robert in Scotland than against the Saracens in the Holy Land. He was again taken prisoner in 1306 while defending Cupar against the English, and did not regain his liberty until after the Battle of Bannockburn, when he was exchanged, along with the queen and her daughter, for the Earl of Hereford.

SPOTSWOOD TELLS A STORY.

The saving of the cathedral by the zealous craftsmen of Glasgow marching up the High Street and down again is a very popular tale. How frequently have we come across it. Almost as often as that of the delicious story of Kentigern, so dear to Glasgow hearts, sympathetically saving the honour of the lax spouse of King Cadzow by the recovery of her "lost" ring in the mouth of a fish* taken out of the Clyde by his orders, so

* The story of the Fish and the Ring is an old Egyptian tale,† told in other parts of Europe besides Scotland, and made by Romish priests to do duty to exalt themselves in the eyes of the people as men who can perform miracles, which they can no more do than they can fly. The Glasgow story, which tells of a certain saint's "great miracle," is given somewhat after this fashion in the Aberdeen Breviary:—

In the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era, Kentigern, commonly called St. Mungo (dearly sir, or the beloved), took up his abode on the banks of the Molendinar, on the spot where the

† WILKINSON, *Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 186.

graphically depicted on the engraved counter seal of Bishop Wyschart. The story of the threatened demolition of Glasgow Cathedral, as told by Archbishop Spotswood, is as follows:—

"In Glasgow the next spring there happened a little disturbance by this occasion. The magistrates of the city, by the earnest dealing of Mr. Andrew Melvill and other ministers, had condescended to demolish the cathedral, and build with the materials thereof some little churches in other parts, for the ease of the citizens. Divers reasons were given for it; such as the resort of superstitious people to do their devotion in that place; the huge vastness of the church, and that the voice of the preacher could not be heard by the multitudes that convened to sermon; the more commodious service of the people; and the removing of that idolatrous monument (so they called it), which was of all the cathedrals in the country only left unruined, and in a possibility to be repaired. To do the work, a number of quarriers, masons, and other workmen was conduced, and the day

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cathedral now stands. Some years later, this part of Scotland, then called Strathclyde, was under the rule of a monarch named Cadzow, who gave his queen a precious ring. Having formed an illicit connection with one of the officers attending on the king, she gave it to him. This liaison was known to the saint, but he held his peace. Missing the ring off the queen's finger, the king became suspicious that all was not right, and, on the watch, came to the conclusion that his wife was unfaithful to her marriage vows. Softly stealing upon the officer while he was asleep, the king obtained possession of the ring, which he threw into the river Clyde. He then inquired of his wife for the ring! The terrified woman appealed to St. Mungo to save her honour and her life, promising to perform condign penance. The saint went to the river, and told the fisherman where to cast his net. He obeyed, and caught a salmon with the ring in its mouth! St. Kentigern gave it to the queen, who triumphantly held it up to the king. Thus by a great miracle the saint restored domestic peace to the distracted household, the repentant wife and the confiding husband living happy ever afterwards.

"The crest of the city of Glasgow, adopted from this vile story, is the saint vested as a bishop. On the shield is a salmon on its back, holding up to the saint a ring in its mouth; the supporters are two

assigned when it should take beginning. Intimation being made thereof, and the workmen by sound of a drum warned to go unto their work, the crafts of the city in a tumult took arms, swearing with many oaths, that he who did cast down the first stone should be buried under it. Neither could they be pacified till the workmen were discharged by the magistrates. A complaint was hereupon made, and the principals cited before the [Privy] Council for insurrection, where the king, not as then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the crafts, did allow the opposition they had made, and inhibited the ministers (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more in that business, saying, 'That too many churches had been already destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses of that kind.'"*

Such is the tale as told by Spotswood. Sir Walter Scott seized upon it as grist to his mill, and has exaggerated it almost beyond recognition. After informing us that the Cathedral of Glasgow "is the only metropolitan church in Scotland, excepting, as I am informed, the Cathedral of Kirkwall, in the Orkneys,

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salmon, each with a ring in its mouth. The whole fable is represented in the seal of Bishop Wyschard, made about A.D. 1271. The legend to the seal, on which are figured the saint, the king, and the queen—but not the knight—briefly tells the story: '*Rex furit: Hæc plorat: Patet aurum: Dum sanctus orat.*' That is, in English: 'The king rages: she laments: the ring turns up: while the saint is praying.'

"The hymn appointed for the *more solemn altar service* of the saint's day thus sums up the story:—

'Mœcha mœrens confortatur,
Regi reconciliatur,
Dum in fluctu qui jactatur
Piscis profert annulum.'

"Which, perhaps, may be freely rendered:—

'Saint, queen, and knight an evil union make
With monk, who, with a hook, the fish doth take.
The adulterous queen is by the saint consoled,
Who kindly cloaks her guilt, and brings the tell-tale gold.'"†

* SPOTSWOOD, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 259. Edinburgh: Printed for the Spottiswoode Society, 1851.

† BROCK'S *Rome: Pagan and Papal*, pp. 66, 67.

which remained uninjured at the Reformation," he, in the true spirit of the man who, in *Old Mortality*, published in 1816, mocked at the Covenanters and their sufferings, maligns the Reformers in *Rob Roy*, published in December, 1817, and that, too, notwithstanding the exposure by, and the castigation received from M'Crie in the first three numbers of *The Christian Instructor* of that same year. Sir Walter puts into the mouth of Andrew Fairservice the words :—

"Ah! it's a brave kirk—nane o' yere whigmaleeries and curliewurlies and open-steek hems about it—a' solid, well-jointed masonwark, that will stand as lang as the warld, keep hands and gunpowther aff it. It had amaist a douncome lang syne at the Reformation, when they pu'd doun the kirks of St. Andrews and Perth, and thereawa', to cleanse them o' Papery, and idolatry, and image worship, and surplices, and sic like rags o' the muckle hure that sitteth on seven hills, as if ane wisna braid eneugh for her auld hinder end. Sae the commons o' Renfrew, and o' the Barony, and the Gorbals, and a' about, they behoved to come into Glasgow ae fair morning, to try their hand on purging the High Kirk o' Popish nicknackets. But the townsmen o' Glasgow, they were feared their auld edifice might slip the girths in gaun through siccan rough physic, sae they rang the common bell, and assembled the train-bands wi' took o' drum. By good luck, the worthy James Rabat was Dean o' Guild that year—(and a gude mason he was himsell, made him the keener to keep up the auld bigging), and the trades assembled, and offered downright battle to the commons, rather than their kirk should coup the crans, as others had done elsewhere. It wasna for luve o' Paperie—na, na!—nane could ever say that o' the trades o' Glasgow—Sae they sune came to an agreement to take a' the idolatrous statues of sants (sorrow be on them) out o' their neuks—And sae the bits o' stane idols were broken in pieces by Scripture warrant, and flung into the Molendinar burn, and the auld kirk stood as crouse as a cat when the fleas are kaimed aff her, and a'body was alike pleased. And I heard wise folk say, that if the same had been done

in ilka kirk in Scotland, the Reform wad just hae been as pure as it is e'en now, and we wad hae mair Christian-like kirks; for I hae been sae lang in England, that naething will drived out o' my head, that the dog-kennel at Osbaldistone Hall is better than mony a house o' God in Scotland."

Sir Walter practically repeats the same story in *Tales of a Grandfather* (published twelve years later, in 1828), when, speaking of the defacing and destroying of the Catholic churches by the early Reformers, he says:—"It would have been better to have followed the example of the citizens of Glasgow, who drew out in arms when the multitude were about to destroy the High Church of that city, and, while they agreed with the more zealous in removing all the emblems of Popish worship, insisted that the building itself should remain uninjured, and be applied to the uses of a Protestant church." And so does Lockhart. Like a good boy, he follows in the footsteps of his father-in-law, and assures us that Glasgow Cathedral "is one of the very few which have escaped the demolishing fury of the first disciples of John Knox."

The Cathedral of Glasgow "escaped the demolishing fury of the first disciples of John Knox." That being so, the "earnest dealing" which threatened the great building with destruction must have taken place under his second disciples—who were, we presume, Principal Melville, the ministers, and the magistrates of Glasgow, as Spotswood says. Let us look into the matter for a short space, and endeavour to find out what really occurred. The cathedral was "purged" of all its Popish embellishments by the Duke of Chastelherault (pervert Regent Arran) in November, 1559, while the tale of "the citizens rising in arms" to protect the cathedral from the multitude pertains to the year 1579, or is supposed to do so, for that is the period Spotswood refers to. Again, while Spotswood's story concerns itself with the threatened demolition of the

building only, Scott's tale deals with both the building and its contents. He appears to have got mixed up a bit over the matter.

Referring to the tale, M'Crie, after informing us that the statements in it rest solely upon the authority of Bishop Spotswood, says:—

"I never met with anything in the public or private writings of [Andrew] Melville, or of any minister contemporary with him, that gives the smallest ground for the conclusion that they looked upon cathedral churches as monuments of idolatry, or that they would have advised their demolition on this ground.

"The records of the Town Council of Glasgow and of the Privy Council are totally silent as to the alleged order and riot,—a silence which it is extremely difficult to account for, on the supposition that the bishop has given a correct report of the affair. It appears from the most satisfactory documents that the magistrates and ministers of Glasgow, so far from wishing to pull down the cathedral, were anxious to uphold and repair it; that they made repeated representations to the king and Privy Council on this head; and that, though the burden of the work did not legally fall on them, they voluntarily and zealously contributed for carrying it into execution. I think it highly probable that any disturbance which may have formed the groundwork of the statement under examination was occasioned by an order, not for demolishing but for repairing the cathedral; and that the craftsmen were aggrieved at some encroachment upon their rights, real or supposed, in the mode of reparation."*

In drawing attention to Dr. M'Crie's criticism of Bishop Spotswood's tale, Dr. Burton remarks:—

"There is a story told by Spottiswood how the magistrates of Glasgow had agreed to sacrifice the cathedral to Andrew Melville and others of the clergy as 'a monument of idolatry,' but that the city mob rose and protected the building. Dr. M'Crie said he could find no contemporary trace of such an event, and where he was baffled in such a pursuit nobody else need attempt it." †

* M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 39. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1856.
† Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. vi., p. 222, note.

Regarding this very cathedral, over which so much virtuous indignation has been spent at the expense of the Presbyterians, it is known that it was in a semi-dilapidated condition before the Reformation, and continued to be so after that event. That it remained so was not the fault of the ministers of the Reformed Church. Burton says it never was completed, but "the fabric was sustained in the condition in which the Reformation found it." That this is so the following historical facts show. In 1571, when the "young king" (James VI.) was only five years of age, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland appointed special commissioners to deal with the Government "for preservation and upholding" of the High Kirk of Glasgow. Two years later, in 1573, the Assembly again had the subject of "upholding cathedral-kirks which are parish kirks" under consideration, and ordered the existing laws to be enforced to stop the ravages going on through neglect to make the necessary repairs, and until more effective provision should be enacted by Parliament. By this time the want of these repairs was telling heavily on the great structure, and, as was common to other neglected churches and religious houses at that period, the materials were being carried away. By reason of these strong representations the magistrates of Glasgow, "after fruitless attempts to obtain funds from the proper revenues of the see," were induced to take action in August of the following year. In that month a special meeting of the Town Council—at which the provost, bailies, and councillors, also the deacons of the crafts and a number of honest men of the town, were present—was held to consider "the great decay and ruin that the High Kirk of

Glasgow is come to through taking away of the lead, slates, and other graith thereof in the troublous time bygane, so that such a great monument will allutterly fall down and decay without it be remedied. And because the helping thereof is so great, will extend to mair nor they may spare, and that they are not addetite to the upholding and repairing thereof by the law, yet of their ain free wills uncompelled, and for the zeal they bear to the Kirk, of mere almous and liberality, so that induce no practick nor preparative in tymes coming, conform to ane writing to be made thereanent, All in one voice has consented to a tax and imposition of twa hundreth punds money [Scots], to be taxt and paid by the township and freemen thereof, for helping to repair the said kirk and holding it waterfast."* The deacons of the crafts were appointed to superintend the work, and to see it done. We think it may be taken for granted that the Reformers, even during "the troublous time bygane," did not take the lead from the roof, nor would they take the slates. The representatives of the crafts, it will be observed, make no charge against the Reformers.

Two months later Andrew Melville was made Principal of Glasgow University, so that the cathedral must have been under repair for sometime after he took up his residence in the city. Is it reasonable to suppose that the magistrates and Town Council, after having taken into their confidence the deacons of the crafts, also the leading citizens, asked for and got "twa hundreth punds money" from the "township and freemen" of the city to repair the High Kirk, should turn round upon themselves at the bidding of any

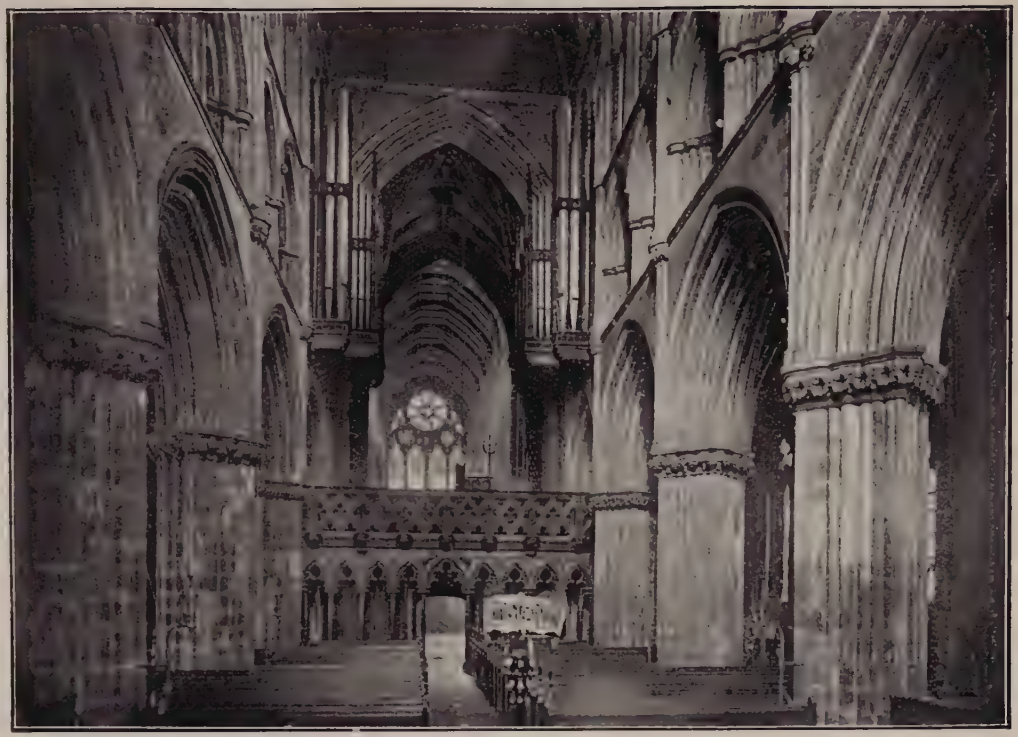
* M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 418.

man, or any set of men, and proceed to demolish a building which only lately they had been put to much trouble and expense to restore? The story is not consistent with the actions of the magistrates and Town Council either before Melville's appointment to the principalship, or after he left the town on being translated to St. Andrews to fill a similar situation there. Having been abroad for ten years he had, only three months before, arrived in Scotland from Geneva; but he would know, or would soon learn, what steps the Kirk-Session of Glasgow and the General Assembly had taken to secure the High Kirk from destruction, and he would not act contrary to the earnest desires of his brethren in such a matter as the preservation and keeping in repair of a cathedral-kirk which was also a parish kirk. At the period of Melville's appointment as Principal of the University of Glasgow the Earl of Morton was regent, and James VI. was only eight years of age. Acting under the influence of Alexander Erskine, governor of Stirling Castle, and the guardian of the young king, James took the reins of government into his own hands at the early age of twelve. This was in 1578, and Melville left Glasgow in 1580. But as if to show what little reliance can be placed on the tale as told by Spotswood, the magistrates and citizens of Glasgow in 1579—the very year in which the historian says they "had condescended to demolish the cathedral"—once again voluntarily rated themselves in a further sum of six hundred merks for the repair of the fabric. This sum was nearly double the amount they had taxed themselves in 1574 for a like purpose, so that it would appear as if the influence of Principal Melville had been

used with effect to have the High Kirk repaired rather than destroyed.

Spotswood's story reveals to us a boy wiser than the men who only lately spent money on repairing the kirk, wiser than the learned principal, wiser than the complaining ministers! Little wonder he became known as the Scottish Solomon. If the magistrates entered into a compact to act conjointly with Melville and "his mob" to demolish the cathedral, why, it may be asked, is it not minuted in their books? If there was no compact, one would expect that some notice would have been taken of Melville's conduct, but in the many meetings held about repairing the High Kirk no complaint is made against him. The minutes appear to have been fairly well kept, and there being no such entry creates suspicion. And none in the records of the Privy Council, nor in those of the Kirk-Session, both of which are silent on the subject. The whole story looks more suspicious still when we remember that Melville, in 1584, protested and declared that by "the insatiable sacrilegious avarice of earls, lords, and gentlemen the kirks lie like sheep and cattle folds rather than places for Christian congregations to assemble in"—the very sentiment which Sir Walter puts forth, as the fruit of the wisdom of the nineteenth century, two hundred and forty-four years after Melville had given it to the world.

To continue, in December, 1581, the representatives of the Kirk and the Dean of Faculty waited upon the magistrates, when "the ruin and decay of the kirk" was once more under consideration. The Kirk-Session of Glasgow records, of 7th December, 1586, state that the provost, bailies, and deacons of crafts,



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL (INTERIOR).

and ministers of the city are to convene in the College Kirk to give their advice and judgment anent repairing the High Kirk. Fourteen months later, on 25th January, 1588, the Kirk-Session appoints commissioners to the General Assembly "to desire a commission with license to [from] the king's majesty for reparation of the High Church of Glasgow the best way the town and parish of the same may." On the following 7th of March, "the commissioners appointed by the king anent repairing the High Kirk, and hail brethren of the Kirk-Session of Glasgow, thinks guid that the laigh steeple be taken down to repair the mason work of the said kirk, and that the bell and clock be transported to the high steeple, and that the kirk have a quinzee left at the steeple foresaid for the relief thereof." If there was a tumult, as Spotswood says, would this order on the part of the authorities (it is M'Crie who puts the question) be the cause of it? The crafts were jealous of their privileges, and here was a proposal not only to repair the kirk but to use the stones of the one part of the building to repair another part—thus providing the stones for the work, which the trades would regard as an infringement of their privileges. If so, it occurred eight years after Andrew Melville left Glasgow for St. Andrews.

And yet again, on 1st August of this year (1588), the Kirk-Session desire the Town Council to send commissioners to the General Assembly, "as for other things to seek the Assembly's assistance for obtaining at the king's hand and counsel money for helping and upholding the Parish Kirk at Glasgow; or else to get a new commission to entertain the kirk with itself as it may best." Thus appealed to, the General Assembly

of this same year drew the attention of the king to the dilapidated condition into which so many of the kirks had fallen, and appealed to him specially to avert the threatened ruin of Glasgow Cathedral. James was now sixteen years of age, but his enthusiasm for the preservation of kirks, if he ever had any, had evaporated, for he seems to have paid no attention to the Assembly's appeal. He could confiscate the Church lands, and grant them to his favourites, or for family reasons, as in the case of Monsieur d'Aubigny (Lennox) and Stewart of Blantyre, but the obligation to uphold cathedral-kirks, or indeed any kirk, was another matter. And so it occurred that in July of the following year, the ministers, elders, and deacons of Glasgow had again to draw the attention of the magistrates to "the non-repairing of the High Kirk" by them. Walter Stewart was present at this meeting, and offered, presumably as one of the owners of the church lands, to contribute four hundred merks towards the repair of the edifice. Again, in 1609, the ministers of the city had to complain of "the apparent waste and ruin" going on at the cathedral; and the Council, raising money by voluntary subscription, executed some very necessary repairs in this year. Apparently, they could not do more than urge upon the Government and the Town Council the necessity they were under to keep the church in repair. Many more instances could be given—the Kirk-Session records abound with resolutions and orders to the same effect —to show that the ministers worked hand-in-glove with the magistrates to uphold the cathedral.* And it

* M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 419. Extracts from Records of Kirk-Session of Glasgow: Woodrow's Life of Mr. David Weemes, MSS. vol. iii., pp. 5, 6.

should be remembered that the revenues of the see, or a part of them, during these years were in the hands of Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, and Spotswood himself pocketed his share from 1603 till 1615.

It was not altogether from want of will that the provost, bailies, and councillors were so dilatory in repairing the building. It was because they were without funds to do it with; but that was their own fault. As we have seen, their efforts to obtain funds from the proper revenues of the see were fruitless; but in 1566 Queen Mary gave a grant of the property of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and other religious foundations in the city, to the Town Council for the support of the ministers and, of course, the upkeep of the parish kirk. The Council, however, in 1572, conveyed the grant to Glasgow College for the maintenance of a professor of theology, two regents, several teachers of philosophy, and of twelve poor students. This action no doubt was a generous one on the part of the Glasgow authorities; but the property was not really theirs to gift away; it belonged to the ministers, who saw *their* resources swept beyond their reach without even making a protest; their own comfort did not appear to lie so near their hearts as the endowment of the college and the upkeep of the cathedral. But the gifting away of the property made the Town Council less able than before to keep the immense fabric in repair. With the help they got at various times from the crafts and voluntary subscribers they did what they could for "the zeal they bear to the Kirk" to uphold the building. It was no easy task. Left by the Catholics in a miserable state, the upkeep of such a great structure was simply onerous to a small

community without funds to do it with; and the worst of it was, that notwithstanding the constant outlay it never seemed to be in a proper state of repair. Large sums were spent upon it during the first half of the seventeenth century, and the magistrates appear specially to have exerted themselves to makes things presentable on the meeting of the General Assembly, in 1638, within its venerable walls: a memorable year, and a still more memorable Assembly, which renounced all that had been done during the previous thirty years to foist prelates on the Church: the Perth articles, Laud's service-book (taken mostly from the Roman Missal), and canons (imposed upon the Church of Scotland by the sole authority of Charles I. the previous year), and the bishops deposed.

The cathedral continued to remain in a somewhat unsatisfactory condition down to its "restoration" in the first half of the nineteenth century, when Mr. Edward Blore, instructed by the Government, repaired and renewed certain parts of the edifice which had fallen into decay. It was at this period in the history of the church that the massive square tower, 120 feet in height, which stood at the north-west doorway of the nave, and the consistory house, which stood at the south-west corner of the same part of the cathedral, were cast down. These two interesting and important parts of the structure, architecturally and historically, at the instigation of some local men, were demolished under the superintendence of the gentleman named above, by order of the late Queen Victoria's First Commissioner of Works as late as 1839! Yet we dare not call these men "fanatics," nor even "vandals;" they were savants!

From the foregoing, we think it must be apparent that Spotswood's story is inconsistent with the actings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, as well as of the Glasgow Town Council and Kirk-Session, or even with those of Principal Melville. We do not care to impute motives; but there can be little doubt that Spotswood had one, and that he put the words in the mouth of the young king for a purpose—that purpose being best known to himself—and the result has been to lower the Reformers before their countrymen, and through them the Presbyterian religion. And he certainly has succeeded in befooling them, Lockhart not excepted. Despite the latter's abuse of the Presbyterians for their treatment of the abbeys, kirks, and cathedrals—abuse for which, historically, there is no cause—we think it will be allowed that they, as shown by the actions of their General Assembly, did all in their power not only to preserve Glasgow Cathedral, but other churches and cathedrals as well, urging on all who had parish kirks under their care to keep them in repair, and frowning on all attempts, in troublous times, to do them harm. They took up the same attitude towards the monasteries, as witness Knox's efforts to save Scone, and his denunciation of the Earl of Mar for demolishing Cambuskenneth Abbey. "There is abundant testimony," says Burton, "that the clergy of the Reformation did their best for the preservation and good order of the fabrics of the churches." *

To the persistence of the Presbyterians, in face of indifference in high places, latent opposition, and poverty, to have the repairs attended to during the long period of nigh three hundred years, the preserva-

* *Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 355.

tion of Glasgow Cathedral from becoming a ruin, and perhaps a quarry, is due, and to their exertions the citizens are indebted for their High Kirk.

THE GLASGOW ESTATES.

But what had become of the revenues of the see? At one time they were very considerable, as, besides the Regality of Glasgow—a large district comprising the Barony parish, the parishes of Cadder and Govan, and a large portion of the parish of Old Monkland—it had eighteen baronies of land in various parts of the country, including Ancrum, Ashkirk, Carstairs, Lilliesleaf, Stobo, &c. It had also a large estate in Cumberland, called the "spiritual dukedom."

The early fathers of Scottish Episcopacy were Regent Morton, James VI., Esmé Stewart (d'Aubigny),* an adventurer, upon whom the king conferred the earldom of Lennox, and James Stewart, a soldier of fortune, who was made Earl of Arran. Not that the regent or either of the two earls had any special love for Episcopacy, for

* Monsieur d'Aubigny was a Roman Catholic, and a secret agent of the Guises. He brought forty thousand golden pieces with him to enable him to do his work. He soon became a great favourite with the young king and certain members of the nobility, especially with the Stewart clique, such as Athole (another Catholic) and Argyle, both of whom shared in the golden shower of d'Aubigny's crowns. He was a fit agent for the dirty work he was expected to do, and for which he was paid; and although he publicly renounced Popery in the church of St. Giles, this act on his part did not lessen the suspicion of the Presbyterians as to his real character and motives. Subsequent events justified their jealousy, especially the interception of some dispensations sent from Rome, "by which the Papists were permitted to promise, swear, or subscribe whatever they desired, provided they privately advanced the interests of the Romish Church! This discovery was the immediate occasion of that memorable transaction, the swearing of the National

Lennox was a Papist, and Arran a suspect. The three, and especially the latter two, were at one in being desirous of "wracking" the religion of the country, but (besides enabling them to rear up their harsh and despotic rule, and crush the freedom of speech exercised by Presbyterians) by turning it into a good milch cow, and placing a tulchan at the udder, they ran the milk into their own pails. And so it came to pass that King James, in his frantic efforts to establish Episcopacy in 1581, gave the patronage of Glasgow, as he had previously given the estates of Arbroath Abbey, to his boon companion Esmé, who lost no time in his efforts to fill the office. After vainly tempting certain ministers with the bauble, he at last got Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, to accept it. It was notorious that this was a collusive and simoniacal transaction. The price of this "vile bargain" was that, on being appointed archbishop, Montgomery "should make over the revenues to Lennox, and content himself with a pension out of them," said "pension" being an annual salary of one

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Covenant."* D'Aubigny was an unprincipled fellow, and knew well how to feather his own nest while the sunshine of Court favour and his employers' gold pieces lasted. As is said above, he was a great favourite with the boy king, whom he amused with his buffoonery, and, with the "scoundrel" Arran, corrupted. The Catholics encouraged James in the laxity of speech and behaviour in which he delighted, and offered no restraint to the licentiousness of his courtiers.† Hence his delight in their society, and his misery when in the company of Presbyterians, who frowned upon all laxity of speech or behaviour. Shortly after his arrival at court d'Aubigny was made Earl, and latterly Duke of Lennox, and although subsequent events obliged him to flee the country and die in France, James never forgot him, and provided for his sons and daughters as if they had been his own bairns.

* BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 38.

† *Ibid.*, p. 216.

thousand pounds Scots, also some horse, corn, and poultry (in all, about £100 sterling), the balance of the revenue to be handed over to Esmé, perhaps about £150, the emoluments having run to seed. Montgomery was suspended from the ministry by the General Assembly, but he held on to the see till Lennox was compelled to leave Scotland in 1587, after surrendering the patronage to Sir William Erskine, cousin to the Earl of Mar. The king, however, gave the see to a voluntary absentee, even to James Beaton (nephew of the notorious cardinal), a Roman Catholic and a previous Archbishop of Glasgow, who had fled to France in 1560, and had never acknowledged the Protestant religion. It was at this very time, when the ministers and magistrates of Glasgow were at their wits' end about the cathedral, and were appealing to the king, who had then attained his majority, for funds to assist in its repair, he confiscated the Glasgow estates, and granted the greater part of them to Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre.* He gave the lands of Stobo and Eddleston, belonging to the same diocese, to Secretary Maitland; and caused the remainder of the estates belonging to the see to be erected into a temporal lordship.

"The eager desire which James felt to secure his accession to the English throne induced him to adopt measures which gave much offence to his subjects. With the view of conciliating the Roman Catholics he sent a secret embassy to the pope. The odium of the letter addressed in his name to his holiness was afterwards thrown on his secretary; but it has been suspected, not without some reason, that James acted the same part to Lord Balmerino in this affair, which

* Act Parl. Scot., iii. 431. 1587.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL (CRYPT).

Elizabeth did to Secretary Davidson respecting the execution of Queen Mary. With the view of gratifying the pope, and procuring his support to the king's title, a project was set on foot to grant a toleration to papists in Scotland; and Archbishop Beaton was not only appointed ambassador at the Court of France, but restored to the temporalities of the see of Glasgow. These steps, though taken with great secrecy and caution, did not escape the vigilance of the ministers."* The Act of Convention was passed about the end of June, 1598. The Presbytery of Edinburgh applied for a copy of the Act respecting Beaton; but were referred from the Clerk of Council to the Clerk of Register, and from the latter to Mr. Alexander Hay. (Record of Presbytery, July 4, 11, and 18, 1598).

King James got an Act of Parliament passed in 1600, by which other portions of the revenues of the see were handed over to Beaton. The Act withheld from him the castle of Glasgow, and certain feus which had been granted to parties off the estates, as also certain rents and duties which had been granted to the college, and the stipends of the ministers. But the rents of Lochwood estate, which had been taken possession of by the Duke of Chastelherault on the flight of Beaton, and from whom Boyd of Banheith obtained a grant, was restored to him. Beaton laid out nothing towards the upkeep of the cathedral, although when he died in 1603, this "poor priest, denied every luxury except the most ordinary food and raiment," as Roman Catholics assure us, left 80,000 livres, or about £4,000, a large

* M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 224. In a note he explains that Keith, in *Scottish Bishops*, is in error when he says that Beaton secured the estates under the Act passed in 1588.

sum in those days. The revenues again fell into the hands of James, but instead of handing them over to Spotswood, to whom he gave the bishopric on receiving the news of Beaton's death on his road to England, or spending them on the cathedral, which he knew to be in urgent need of repair, he granted the estates away without apparently laying any obligation on them for the upkeep of the church. And during all these years, when the revenues were being tossed about among Catholics and Episcopalians, "the corrupt minions of unprincipled governments," the magnificent fabric threatened to go to ruin for lack of funds to lead the roof and keep it watertight. Yet the sorry actings of Catholics and Episcopalians in this connection are never heard of; it is only Principal Melville, the Presbyterian, who is denounced for an imaginary act—an act which, even were it true, resulted in no injury being done to the cathedral.

Thus the language attributed to the young king by Spotswood is not credible. Even after James had attained his majority he showed no disposition to repair the High Kirk of Glasgow. Had Knox been alive he could have said of him, as he said of the nobility and gentry of his day, that "there was none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they which had the greatest rents of the churches." A part of the revenue of the diocese was granted "to the poor minister"—as much as kept him alive—and a further portion ultimately fell to the crown.

THE CATHEDRAL TREASURE.

There is another question which may be fairly put. While it is possible that the Earl of Glencairn, as

some authors assert, did purge Glasgow Cathedral of its idolatrous trappings in May, 1559, how he could do so is not by any means clear, for he joined the Lords of the Congregation at Perth, after collecting an army of 2,500 men, in the middle of the same month without losing any time at Glasgow, and continued with them when they marched on Stirling and Edinburgh, sharing in all their vicissitudes afterwards. Other authors say he did so at the end of June; but if so, he must have left the army on its march to Edinburgh, and gone round by Glasgow, for he was in the former city in the beginning of July. It is certain, however, that the Duke of Chastelherault (Figurehead Arran) did so in the month of November following. Both did not require to do it. The duke, in his newly-born zeal for reform, purged the church of its numerous altars, images, and relics;* but he did no damage to the edifice, nor did he get anything of value. What, then, had become of the plate, jewels, vestments, and other valuables which the inventory taken by Bishop Cameron in 1432 shows were in possession of the church? The party who removed the goods was no less a person than the above-named Archbishop James Beaton. He appears to have first removed the treasures of the cathedral to his own castle, and afterwards sent them to William Kennedy, the Abbot of Crosraguel; and then, when he fled to France in July, 1560, to have retaken possession of them. He carried off with him across the sea a golden image of Jesus Christ, and silver images of the twelve apostles. The "holy vessels" of gold and silver, the brilliant jewels, and the silver staff, were all stolen by him. He took away

*Tytler, *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 117.

the records of the kirk, also two chartularies, one of which was the Red Book of Glasgow. Worse than all that, he sacrilegiously laid his thievish hands on the "holy bane" of St. Ninian, and the "holy relic" never came back. Of all these valuables, the only things recovered were the silver staff, by Principal Patrick Sharpe in 1590, and the Chartulary of Glasgow, by Abbe Paul Macpherson. Had John Knox acted so—had he carried off "the holy vessels, and whatever men could gain off"—what an outcry would have been made; we would never have heard the end of it; but because it was the work of a Catholic archbishop, the whole sordid business is hushed up.

KIRKWALL.

Originally a cell of the Celtic Church, Kirkwall Cathedral was founded about 1137 by Kolr, or his son Ronald; both appear to have shared in the honour of its erection. It was dedicated to Magnus, a relative of theirs who had been murdered, and who was canonised by the pope. Between 1250 and 1350 the apse was pulled down, and three bays added to the choir, the cathedral being otherwise enlarged. It was subsequently extended by bishops Stewart and Reid in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The building throughout is severely Norman, with a mixture of Early Pointed. There is the semi-circular arch and window, the pointed arch and window, the round and clustered pillar, all more or less irregular, no two arches or two pillars being exactly alike: but all having rich mouldings, stiff foliage, dog teeth, and corbels of masks. It consists of choir and nave with

ST. MAGNUS CATHEDRAL, KIRKWALL.

stone vaulted aisles, also transepts with a chapel attached to each, and clerestory. The interior of the cathedral is 218 feet in length, 60 in average breadth, and 71 in height. There are two rows of massive pillars, 32 in number and 16 feet apart; these pillars are each 15 feet in circumference, except the four in the centre, which are each 24 feet, and support the tower. The square tower rises to a height of 133 feet from the floor. There are upwards of 100 windows in the edifice, the great rose window being a fine specimen of Early Pointed; it is 36 feet in height and 12 feet in width. A peculiarity of this cathedral is that the stone used is a red sandstone, interspersed with white or yellow systematically used in bands in the west front and other parts of the structure. The exterior ornamentation appears at one time to have been rich, but it has succumbed in a great measure to the severity of the weather.

Not until the beginning of the seventeenth century do we hear of any attempt to do violence to this cathedral, when in 1606 the Earl of Caithness endeavoured to pull it down, but was prevented by Bishop Law. The latter repaired the damage done to the building by the earl. But a greater calamity befell it later in the century, recorded in quaint old Scotch in the Parish Register.

"Quhilk day (January 9, 1671) ther happned ane fearful and sad accident in this place to the great astonishment and terrification of all the beholders, by thunder and lightning which fell upon the steeple heid of the Cathedral Kirk of Orknay, called St. Magnus Kirk of Kirkwall, and fyred the samen, which burnt downwards until the steeple heid, three loftings, and

all the timber work pertaining to the bells and the knockhouse were consumed to ashes."

The astonished and terrified beholders were more frightened than hurt, the church otherwise being in no way damaged. The Reformers were not to blame for this, but had it occurred a hundred years earlier it would, in all probability, have been laid to their charge. Instead, they took every care of this cathedral, and the choir has been screened off and fitted up as the parish church.

ST. ANDREWS.

THE RUINS.

The Cathedral of St. Andrews was founded by Bishop Arnold in 1159, and finished—so slowly did the work progress—in 1318. As may be surmised, it was of the usual Scotch style—a mixed composition of Norman and Early Pointed, having the semi-circular arch and the pointed arch, with round and clustered pillars. This fine building accidentally took fire in 1378—only sixty years after it was completed—and was greatly injured; but although the central tower was hurt, and the roofs of the choir, east aisle, and transepts were burned, the fabric was not "destroyed;" for the restoration, begun shortly after the fire, and wholly completed in 1440, was on the old walls, and portions of these remain even now, forming most picturesque parts of the ruin. In the east gable are three oblong windows and a much larger one above them, all four having the semi-circular arch. These windows are placed between two tall turrets, which terminate in octagonal pinnacles; and in these turrets are seen the ends of the three

rows of galleries, one above the other, which, when intact, ran down the whole clerestory. In some places these galleries passed within the thickness of the walls, and in other places opened by arcades into the interior of the cathedral. The west front consists of a fine pointed arch doorway, ornamented with profuse mouldings, and over it is a beautiful pointed window, one of two formerly there, while above these again there appear to have been two pointed arch windows of still larger dimensions. The bases of a number of the great pillars are still to be seen. We need not delay to describe further details, but the great size of the cathedral may not be passed over, if only to show how absurd is the view to which so many pin their faith.

THE SIZE AND MASSIVENESS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

The nave, including the two lateral aisles, was 200 feet in length and 62 in breadth; the choir, with its two aisles, was 98 feet long; while at the eastern extremity was the lady chapel, 50 feet in length. Thus the entire length of the cathedral, within the walls, was at least 348 feet. Besides, there were the north and south transepts, with an eastern aisle, 170 feet long, and a great tower at the crossing. Altogether there were, excluding the width at the crossing, about 456 feet of a structure within the walls; there were also the walls themselves, and they would not be less than 4 or 5 feet thick each. Thus we have a building—north and south, east and west—of 466 feet in length. And, in addition, the chapel of St. Regulus, 100 feet long.

Is it reasonable to suppose that this immense fabric

—the largest in Scotland—with its walls and massive pillars, arches and towers, was "pulled down by an infuriated mob, excited by a sermon preached by John Knox in the Parish Church, and nothing was left but a few disjointed walls, including parts of the south wall and the transepts?" Picks, pikes, and forehammers could not "cast down" such a building, with its thick walls (as witness the passages running within them) built with run lime, in a day, nor in a thousand days. Hugh, the blacksmith of Ringleburn, knew better. When the baffled troopers stood before the strong tower of Westburnflat, he said to them: "Pinches or forehammers will never pick upon't. Ye micht as weel batter it wi' pipe staples!"

That the great strength and passive resistance of these massive structures may be understood, it should be mentioned that Regent Arran laid siege to the archbishop's palace in 1545, and battered it with such cannon as he had for three months without making any impression upon its stout walls. In 1547, it took the Prior of Capua (Leon Strozzio), who, although a priest, was a soldier of great skill and experience, with his French battery of thirteen heavy guns at close range, six hours to make a breach in the wall of this same palace, and that at a comparatively weak part which had only recently been repaired.

THE LEGEND.

Notwithstanding these facts, and the well-known strength of these great structures, Archbishop Spotswood says that "all the churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground" by the Reformers, while Father

From Photo. by Messrs. Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee.

ST. ANDREWS CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEST.

Keenan speaks of the "absolute destruction" of the churches in Scotland by them, while other writers repeat the same untruthful tale. And Professor Tennant, in "Anster Fair," rolls on the legend:—

"I sing the steir, strabash, and strife,
Whan, bickerin' frae the towns o' Fife,
Great gangs o' bodies, thick and rife,
Gaed to Sanct Androis toon;

"And wi' John Calvin in their heads,
And hammers in their hands, and spades,
Enraged at idols, mass, and beads,
Dang the cathedral doon."

By "John Calvin," Professor Tennant means John Knox; but it ought to be known, a fact which is conveniently overlooked by his detractors,—(1) that Knox was not the leader of the Protestant party; (2) that neither the magistrates of St. Andrews nor the "gangs o' bodies" were under his orders; (3) that the leaders were the Lord James Stewart, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Menteith, and Rothes, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, Chalmers of Gadgirth, Kirkaldy of Grange, &c. Yet we are constantly being told that the Presbyterian party were under Knox at this particular juncture, and he is held up to public odium as the destroyer of the cathedral, the old chapel of Regulus, the Priory of St. Andrews, the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, &c.—all cast down and utterly razed and demolished by an infuriated mob under his orders! Each one of these buildings was of great size, and something better is required than mere assertion—we want evidence—to believe that they could have been laid low in the manner and within the time stated, as if they had been so many old fishwives' creels.

CATHOLIC "REBELS" SACK THE CONVENTS.

No doubt the purging of the churches and convents of St. Andrews was awful work in clerical eyes, far worse than either burning "heretics" at the stake in front of the palace, or murdering preaching friars like poor Rogers in the ground floor of the Sea Tower (the "Bottle Dungeon," into which horrible hole was cast the young Duke of Rothesay by his uncle Albany and Douglas, and in which Hamilton, Forrest, Wishart, Mill, and many another such, were immured), all which they, and Cardinal Beaton especially, were guilty of. But it was their own followers—men bred and reared in the Roman Catholic Church, and who were members of that communion at that very hour—the townsmen of St. Andrews, who, in their new role as "rebels" against the pope, and acting under the orders of the magistrates, purged the churches of all "monuments of idolatry," and sacked the convents. We continue to hear a great deal about their work to this day, only that Protestants are blamed for it, and not Papists; but nothing of what the French Catholics did when they took possession of the palace. After capturing it, the soldiers, led by the above-named prior, pillaged the castle of all Cardinal Beaton's treasures and rich household stuff, the spoil being worth £100,000 sterling, which large sum was only a small part of the estate of one of Rome's poor priests "separated from the world and its gratifications."

WHAT BECAME OF THE GREAT BUILDINGS.

The truth appears to be, that while it may be frankly admitted the various edifices were more or less hurt, especially in the interior in 1559, the neglect of the

necessary repairs afterwards year after year, and the rigorous climate of St. Andrews, with its wintry *haurs* or mists telling on the softer stones, are more accountable, coupled with the lifting away of the materials, than aught else for their destruction. That this is so is pretty clear.

In 1583, to escape from the thraldom of the Ruthven raiders, James VI. threw himself into the castle of St. Andrews, and the gates were shut behind him. This palace was the abode of Archbishop Adamson, who occupied it as his official residence till 1586, if not later. The Priory of St. Andrews was an immense place. Situated to the south of the cathedral, it consisted of the group of buildings usually connected with such an institution; and, in addition, there was a great wall, 20 feet high and 4 feet thick, a mile in length. The wall protected the priory on three sides—the north, east, and south—while the cathedral did the same on the west. It had thirteen round and square turrets at irregular distances, in each of which were one or two richly canopied niches, evidently intended as berths for figures. A great part of this wall has disappeared, and so have the houses; yet Martin, the secretary of Archbishop Sharp, mentions that in his time, upwards of one hundred years after the Reformation, there were fourteen different buildings, besides the cathedral of St. Andrews and kirk of St. Regulus, within the great abbey wall! That being so, neither the houses, nor the cathedral, nor the kirk could have been demolished by an infuriated mob in 1559, nor could the archiepiscopal palace. Of all these buildings only a few traces remain. Where have they gone? The huge structures were each turned into a common

quarry, and the stones carried away without let or hindrance. They are to be found in the older houses of the city and neighbourhood; and not only there, but at the water's edge also, for the pier at the harbour is believed to have been built with the materials taken from these great edifices. Indeed, in 1654, the Town Council ordered "the sleattes and timmer, redd and lumps" of the archbishop's castle to be used in the repair of the pier.

The roof of the cathedral, after being stripped of its lead in 1304, was covered with copper, which is said to have reflected the rays of the sun with such brilliancy that it was seen at a considerable distance out on the North Sea. The turrets were provided, Martin says, with "manie faire, greate, and excellynte bells, which, at the razing of the church [at the Reformation], were taken down and put aboard of a ship, to be transported and sold." Is it not remarkable that he should here tell us that the cathedral was "razed"—levelled to the foundation—after having just said that the building was standing in his day? He adds that the ship, with its cargo, was sunk "in a faire day, within sight of ye place where ye bells formerlie hung." This is quite a favourite legend with our old authors. The same tale is told of Elgin cathedral, and also of St. Machar, Aberdeen, and it does not seem probable that the same misfortune should have overtaken all the three vessels, even although each of them had a "sacrilegious" cargo on board.

ST. LEONARD'S CHAPEL.

There is an interesting fabric situated at the east end of South Street, which claims our attention. It is

the ancient chapel which belonged to St. Leonard's College, and is now a roofless ivy-covered ruin. This church was founded by Prior Hepburn, aided by Archbishop Alexander Stewart, about 1512, and is an excellent specimen of Early Pointed. It measures in the interior about 80 feet in length and 21 in breadth, while the exterior is about 87 feet long by 28 wide. This is one of the kirks which the Reformers are said to have "razed;" yet it would appear to have been in use in 1747, for in that year, by Act of Parliament, St. Leonard's College was united with St. Salvator's College, in consequence of diminished revenues. The effect of this change was that all the buildings of St. Leonard's were sold, with the exception of the chapel, which, however, was allowed to decay. John Knox delivered his three or four sermons against idolatry in 1559, "in despite of Sathan" and the archbishop's twelve haquebuts, exactly one hundred and eighty-eight years before the wiseacres of the middle of the eighteenth century, because they did not require two chapels, permitted the beautiful little kirk to fall into ruins. John Knox would never have sanctioned such a proceeding.

Adjoining the church of St. Leonard, and within the precincts of the abbey, was an ancient hospital for the reception of pious strangers who came in pilgrimage to get their health restored by touching the relics of St. Andrew, attracted thither by the fame of the miracles wrought by them. But somehow the miracles ceased, or the pious people had ceased to believe in them, and with their disappearance the pilgrims disappeared also, and the hospital was turned into a home for aged women, and latterly into the College of St. Leonard.

COLLEGE CHURCH.

St. Salvator's Chapel, or College Church, is still in evidence, fronting North Street, and is used for public worship now as it was at the Reformation. It is part of the original buildings of the college, so is the stately square tower, which, with its spire, rises to the height of 156 feet. The kirk is Early Pointed, has a light and elegant appearance, and with its tall buttresses reaching above the roof, has, in the words of the late Dr. Robert Chambers, "no parallel in Scotland." The chapel originally had a fine stone-vaulted ceiling. The arched roof was the cause of a very pronounced echo being heard within the building, so pronounced indeed as to render the preacher's voice almost inaudible, and it was removed in 1773, two hundred years after John Knox was in his grave.

Towards the east end of the church stands the tomb built by Bishop Kennedy as a place of burial for himself. It was erected about 1456, and although much wasted through Time's destroying fingers, sufficient remains to enable us to form some idea of its original elegance. It appears to have been a lovely bit of mason work, supposed to have been planned and built by one John Maile or Mair, an artist of Paris. In one part of it there were two or more hundreds of lancet lights, "many of them filled with tracery so delicate and beautiful as to be beyond description." One hundred silver statues adorned the shrine, representing the Saviour (St. Salvator)* and His twelve apostles; also

* It is remarkable that Rome should have turned the Christian Messiah, Jesus Christ, into a Papal saint; and equally remarkable that she should have made the Heathen Messiah, Bacchus, into another. One has only to turn to the Roman calendar to find that the 7th of

angels and saints, and the church interceding for the souls of the departed. It is said that the tomb cost £10,000, a great sum in those days.

THE PARISH CHURCH.

The Parish Church of St. Andrews—the very church in which John Knox preached his momentous sermons —although it had thirty-one altars, and the priests were paid by the citizens to celebrate the *obits* for the dead, appears to have escaped the rage of the "gangs o' bodies," which is somewhat remarkable amid so great destruction. For nigh two hundred and fifty years it stood a witness against the falsehoods told regarding the Reformers. Nevertheless, strange to say it was robbed and pillaged in 1725, one hundred and fifty-three years after Knox had ceased from troubling the Romish dovecots. Another strange thing happened to this kirk at the end of the eighteenth century: at that period it was actually rebuilt from the very foundation. It was in the Parish Kirk that Archbishop Sharp used to preach, and it was here, to silence a woman who had repeatedly interrupted him in the midst of his discourses from the pulpit, that he invented the branks—the "Bishop's Branks"—an instrument of torture of the most fiendish description,

October is set apart to be observed in honour of "St. Bacchus the Martyr." Priest Bruno, in *Catholic Belief*, chap. xxx., tries to hide the fact by omitting his name from among his "glorious cloud of witnesses;" but he reappears as St. Denis. It would seem that the Papacy has made three saints out of a festival to Bacchus, called the Rustic Festival of Dionysus Eleuthereus, for under the date of 9th October may be read: "The Festival of St. Dionysius, and of his companions St. Eleuther and St. Rustic." It is curious, and equally curious is it that Bacchus should be the guardian power or angel of Mahometanism.

and which only could have occurred to the mind of a fanatic.

In the Museum of the United College there may be seen an old oak pulpit from which John Knox, in June, 1559, "preached in the Parish Church of St. Andrews, and did so excite the auditors that they went and demolished and razed to the ground the Black and Grey Friars, and made spoil of all their churches." So runs the legend, but the Museum authorities carefully abstain from informing the public how this great feat was accomplished. And if the "earnest professors" of St. Andrews "made spoil of all their churches," as is implied, they displayed a very different spirit from their compatriots at Perth.

ST. REGULUS TOWER.

The fine tower of St. Regulus—allowed to be an excellent example of tenth century work—still stands entire, 112 feet high, at the west front of the ruins. We owe this beautiful bit of architecture, it seems, to the forbearance of the Reformers, for we are gratuitously informed that "at the time of the Reformation it was left untouched, as if the zealous followers of John Knox wished this stately and storied tower to stand as a grey headstone to the splendid cathedral they had levelled and destroyed." It will be observed from the quotation relating to the pulpit of John Knox, that those who have to do with the Museum of the United College give no sanction to such a statement as this. The assertion is a genuine example of the way the maligners of Knox and the Reformers sow their tares. Rather to the durable quality of the stone of which it is built, and good workmanship, which have enabled it to with-

From Photo. by ST. ANDREWS CATHEDRAL FROM THE EAST. *Messrs. Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee.*

stand the violent tempests of the North Sea and the frosts of winter, do we owe the preservation of this elegant and chaste quadrangular prism.

THE TEMPORALITIES.

Before the Reformation, the Lord James Stewart was titular prior of St. Andrews, which office carried with it the temporalities. After that event, he retained both the Priory of St. Andrews and the estates; but latterly Queen Mary granted them to Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange. The land within the city which belonged to the Franciscans she granted to the Town Council, while that of the Blackfriars became the property of Lord Seton.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WHERE THE ABBEYS WENT.

"TO the last hundred years" (*i.e.*, parts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), says Mr. Billings, the celebrated architect, in his *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, —"To the last hundred years, Scotland can trace more destruction among her antiquities than ever occurred before." That is to say, those in whose charge they were did nothing towards their upkeep, the consequence being that "the rain soaked in through the neglected roofs, the frosts of winter bulged and rent the walls, the massive roofs fell in, and the towers toppled over and came thundering down."* If Billings is correct—and there does not appear to be a better authority—the ruin of the ancient ecclesiastical edifices cannot lie at the door of the Reformers, but their ruin lies at the door of others. If the houses of the "religious" not required for the use of congregations, or were not parish kirks, were allowed to fall into a state of dilapidation and decay, the blame rests with the un-Scotch nobility and gentry—mostly all, at least in these days, non-Presbyterian—who got the estates, and the dignified clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, who received from the Privy Council two-thirds of the ecclesiastical property as their share. Having secured grants of monastery

* MACKENZIE, *Hist.*, p. 347.

lands from the crown, as did Abbot Claud Hamilton those of Paisley; or bought them from the priors, as did Lord Lovat those of Beauly; or seized them, as did the Earl of Cassilis those of Crosraguel Abbey with "Benedicite, Jesu Maria" on his tongue, the nobles grabbed the rents, and looked placidly on century after century while the magnificent buildings went to waste, not spending one plack upon their upkeep. Instead, they built palaces and castles with the stones, or sold them, and permitted quarries to be made of the abbeys. Cambuskenneth went to build "Mar's Work" at Stirling, the village beneath its shadow, and the kirkyard wall at St. Ninians; the Greyfriars' Monastery at Dumfries went to erect the castle of Lord Maxwell; Arbroath, when in the hands of the Duke of Lennox, supplied materials for both a church and a jail, and houses in the district; Newbattle Abbey went much the same way, and indeed the crypt of the kirk actually forms part of the ground floor of the present elegant mansion, in which is a curious and valuable MS. in folio, written upon vellum, in black letter, and illuminated, and which belonged to the monks; Kilwinning Abbey will be found in the stables of the Catholic Setons at Eglinton Castle, and among the furniture in the same house is a chair made from the roof of Alloway Kirk. With the stones of Loretto, the Musselburgh folk erected a tolbooth; the Abbey of Melrose furnished material to build a mill, a mansion-house, and a jail; New Abbey ("Sweetheart") went to erect the adjoining village; Dunfermline, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Stirling went into the houses of these towns. These examples might be added to, but enough has been given to show where the abbeys went.

WHERE THE ESTATES WENT.

THE THIRDS OF BENEFICES.

After the Reformation the scheme known in history as "the Assumption of Thirds of Benefices" came into operation. Referring to it, Burton says:—

"There were three classes of claimants on the property of the Church—the old clergy, the laymen who had obtained rights from them, and the ministers of the Reformation. The Privy Council resolved to deal with this matter by a process which had the merit of simplicity. They were to appropriate to the Crown the fourth, and, if necessary, the third, of the ecclesiastical benefices for new uses; it was found necessary to take the third, and the transaction is known in law and history as 'the assumption of thirds of benefices.' It was carried out by a series of Acts of Council, very secular in their tenor, and seeming as if they avoided the nomenclature of the Romish hierarchy on the one hand, and of Presbyterian perfection and supremacy on the other. The purposes to which these thirds were to be applied are thus set forth:—

"'Sae muckle thereof to be employed to the queen's majesty, for entertaining and setting forward of the common affairs of the country; and sae muckle thereof unto the ministers, and sustentation of the ministry, as may reasonably sustain the same, at the sight and discretion of the queen's majesty foresaid; and the excrescence and surplus to be assigned unto the old possessors.'

"One department of ecclesiastical property was to be specially dealt with. The revenues drawn within towns by monastic establishments, whether in the shape of rents of property or in the more invidious form of local taxes or privileges, were specially designed for the entertaining of 'schools and colleges,' and other like uses; and it was at the same time recommended that, as 'nothing is more commodious' for such uses than the friaries and other edifices which had belonged to the monastic bodies, such of them as had not been demolished should be kept up for these uses. . . . .

"Of the three parties interested, the ecclesiastics, unless

Archbishop Hamilton be an exception, do not seem to have complained. Such a remnant of their possessions was a boon which the tenor of recent events had placed beyond their expectation; and if something was taken from them, what remained was secured, so far as anything could be in that age, by an adjustment which professed to be final. The two-thirds of the fund unappropriated were supposed to remain in the hands of the ecclesiastics of the old Church, on the principle of each retaining a vested life-interest in the greater part of his old income. As these died out, the benefices seem to have fallen to the Crown for miscellaneous disposal. But there is no doubt that a very large portion of these revenues had already, in the manner referred to, got into lay hands. . . . . There was throughout the whole body [of lay owners] much growling at the disgorgement they were called on to make out of the lands which they had secured. . . . .

"So enormously rich had the Romish hierarchy become that a mere fragment of their wealth—much less than a third—was sufficient to endow a ministry on terms bearing comparison with the incomes of the aristocracy."*

Of this one-third, as will be observed, only a part was to go towards the sustentation of the ministers, the remainder going to the crown, while of the two-thirds the whole was to go to the old possessors, *i.e.*, the Roman Catholic clergy: that is to say, a sixth part was deemed sufficient to endow the ministry of the Protestant Church! No wonder Knox protested, declaring that "two parts are freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided between God and the devil."

Notwithstanding the liberal arrangement made on behalf of the religious, the Rev. Stephen Keenan, speaking for the Irish Mission in Scotland, passionately asserts that "Our church lands, the patrimony of the poor, were given to corrupt minions of unprincipled

* BURTON, *Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 40-42.

governments."* There is no truth in this so far as Irish Catholics are concerned, for they have no claim on the estates which once belonged to the monasteries in Scotland.† As for the poor, they were always to be found on the cold side of the convent gate. But what of "the corrupt minions of unprincipled" Rome, who seized the estates of the Church? And what of "the corrupt and unprincipled" Romish bishops who made gifts of the Church lands belonging to their dioceses to their children, and of the priors who sold them? He does not waste a single word of disparagement upon them. Instead, he whimpers, "there is no good thing that may not be abused!" And what of the large slices of territory which Queen Mary—his "sainted Mary"—alienated from the Church? He has nothing uncomplimentary to say about her either, and nothing condemnatory of her royal predecessors, who did the same thing.

The immense possessions acquired by the abbeys had become a public burden, and if things had been allowed to go on, there would soon have been room for no one in the country except monks and nuns, tacksmen and labourers. Almost one-half of Scotland was claimed by the priests as their property.‡ "The patrimony of the

* KEENAN, *Cont. Cat.*, chap. i.

† When the Irish immigration began to set in towards Scotland in the nineteenth century, the Irishmen thought they had discovered a delightful land. "Come over here," was the message sent by one of them to his friends; "come over here, every one of yez. Begorra, this is a counthry without the prest and the polisman!" Poor Pat's inference is so plain that nothing need be said.

‡ For this statement several authorities might be given, but the latest is Professor Cowan of Aberdeen, who, in April, 1901, said that "in the age before the Reformation, one-half of Scottish wealth was in ecclesiastical hands."

poor" was a rich patrimony. In truth, the Church was possessed of so many estates, and altogether so wealthy, that it had become the prey of the crown, and also of the nobility, generations before 1560. Not being able to direct so many estates, they entrusted them to factors to manage. Once the estates fell into the hands of these men—so strong was the heritable idea in that age—there was no getting them back again. Coldingham, Dunfermline, Paisley, Inchmahome, &c., were ruled and governed by laymen, who, as commendators, had full possession and control of the lands, and other property, belonging to the monasteries. Take Coldingham. Lord Hume was commendator of this priory, but King James III., instead of allowing the rich temporalities to remain in his lordship's hands, annexed them to the chapel-royal at Stirling, which led to his ruin. In like manner, James V. granted the lands belonging to the monastery of Inchcolm to his relative, Sir James Stewart of Beith, whom he also made custodier of Doune Castle, with its lordship and estates. His representative, the Earl of Moray, holds Aberdour and Donibristle to this hour. Queen Mary, in 1563, bestowed the estates pertaining to the rich Torphechen Templars upon Sir James Sandilands, their chief. She gave the rich and fertile lands which had belonged to the abbeys of Melrose and Haddington to Bothwell. She bestowed on Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a soldier, the rich Priory of St. Andrews, which had been her natural brother's. And she gave away with a generous hand the estates and other Church property to her nobles; also to Town Councils, such as Edinburgh, Dumfries, and Stirling.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that the aliena-

tion of the Church lands began long anterior to the Reformation. It had also become the practice by that time to put laymen into vacant abbacies and priories, and even bishoprics, to draw the emoluments; or else the office was given for a time in trust to some nobleman or gentleman, or even to a child, until it suited the patron to appoint a permanent clergyman, often his youngest son or other near relative. Thus Lord James Stewart, a natural son, intended and educated for the priesthood, was made prior of St. Andrews by his father, James V., who made another natural son of the same name prior of Kelso and also of Melrose, while yet upon another natural son, Robert Stewart, was bestowed the abbacy of Holyrood—all in their infancy. In doing so, the king was only following the example set him by his predecessors in the throne. Although contrary to the canon law, not a word of protest was heard issuing from the lips of the constituted authorities of the Catholic Church against such flagrant instances of bastardy and simony.

There was another important factor in connection with the estates which in the end was ruinous to the Romish Church. That was the possession of parish kirks by convents, and the usurping of the lands and teinds designed for the support of resident parish priests. Arbroath Abbey possessed forty-three parish kirks, with, of course, the teinds and estates attached to them; Dunfermline Abbey was the owner of thirty-seven churches and chapels; and so with the others in like huge proportion. Instead of putting in a qualified secular to fulfil the duties and draw the emoluments, the monastic rulers would engage a poor, insignificant priest at a small salary; sometimes they were performed

by one of the monks themselves; and sometimes no one would be appointed at all, the whole stipend thus falling to the abbot or prior, as the case might be. And when discerning men dared to protest against the scandal they were treated with contempt, and if they persisted, as did the Protestants, they were first excommunicated or boycotted, then imprisoned, then tortured, and finally burned.

With regard to the lands belonging to the nunneries, one instance may suffice to show where they went. After the death of Dame Christiane Ballenden, "prioress of the Priory of Senis, beside the Burrowmure of Edinburgh," we are told that Regent Morton, "understanding that in the Convention of the Statis of this realme consideration being had that the nunries are not meet to be conferred and given to women according to the first foundation in time of ignorance," &c., appoints "Captaine Ninian Cockburne, his highness chalmerlan and factor, to the said Priory of the Senis," &c. May 31, 1575.*

THE CLERGY SELL THE ESTATES.

From what has been said, it will be apparent that while one-third of benefices fell to the queen's majesty and the Presbyterian ministers, two-thirds of the unappropriated estates were left in the possession of the priests, yet Catholics continue to say that "our Church lands were given to the corrupt minions of unprincipled governments." If the phrase applies to any one body of men more than another, it applies to the dignitaries of the Roman Church at the Reformation. As these

* M'CRIE, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 48, who gives, as his authority, the Register of Privy Seal, vol. xliii., fol. 10.

clergymen died out, it is assumed by Burton that the monastery lands fell to the crown. In numerous instances they did not. As above stated, many of the aristocratic clergy—abbots, priors, and bishops—gifted the estates, both before and after the Reformation, belonging to their respective convents and sees to their children, or sold them to the nobility and gentry, leaving the friars to the charity of the Reformers. We may bring together two or three instances. Cardinal Beaton made over part of the lands of Arbroath Abbey to Margaret Ogilvy, his favourite paramour; the Red Priest of Applecross is said to have given the huge estate belonging to his convent to his daughter; Walter Reid, Abbot of Kinloss and Prior of Beauly, sold the lands belonging to these monasteries, Kinloss to Grant of Freuchie and Beauly to Fraser of Lovat; Bishop Chisholme divided the estates belonging to Dunblane among his three sons; Bishop Gordon made over the barony of Fetternear belonging to the cathedral of St. Machar, in the diocese of Aberdeen, to the laird of Balquhain; and Bishop Hepburn arranged that the estate of Lossie, belonging to Elgin Cathedral, in the diocese of Moray, fell to Lord James Stewart. More cases might be given, but enough have been introduced to show that the Catholics got their full share of the estates which belonged to the Roman Church in Scotland at the Reformation, and if the lands are not in their possession now it is because they have parted with them. They cannot eat their cake and have it. Surely our Roman Catholic countrymen are unjust when they reserve their invectives for Protestant nobles, but especially for the Reformers, and wilfully overlook the fact that the Scotch Catholic nobles,

bishops, abbots, and priors were equally guilty, but without the excuse. These lands the clergy held in trust, yet, contrary to their own canons, they sold or gifted them away to others, who thus became the private owners of national property.

The nobility having been granted Church estates by the crown, or secured leases or tacks, or bought them from the priors or bishops, and secured crown charters for them, would not yield them up without a struggle This was seen at the Reformation, and roused the indignation of Knox, who held they had got possession of the Church lands unjustly; but it was still more clearly seen when they became Covenanters, and flew to arms over the cool proposal of Charles I. to take possession of all the old ecclesiastical lands to give dignity to his ragged regiment of bishops.

THE LANDS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

So far as Scotland is concerned, many of the estates so amusingly laid claim to by Irish Catholics belonged to the Celtic Church, and when that system ceased to be the national church, in the latter half of the eleventh century, they fell to its successor in grants from various kings, and especially by David I.* When it in its turn fell into decadence, and ceased of its own inner rotten-

* William the Lion founded the Abbey of Arbroath, and, along with other Celtic churches, annexed to it the kirk of Abernethy, with the chapels and lands belonging to it, allowing a small reversion to the real owners. The Culdees of Abernethy appealed against this arbitrary proceeding on the part of the king, and the case was tried before the Bishop of Dunblane. William took the precaution to appoint his own judge assessor, and the bishop, after consulting some lawyers, gave judgment in favour of the Tyronensian monks of Arbroath! Parties interested in this part of the question may consult Dr. Jamieson's history of the Ancient Culdees with advantage.

ness* to be the national church, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the estates should have fallen to the Church of Scotland. As we have seen, they did not, two-thirds of them being left to the Roman Church. The few cases of the appropriation of the Church lands which we have been able to give in the text will have given the reader an idea into whose hands they really passed.

THE THIRDS OF BENEFICES SEIZED BY THE CROWN.

In 1571, the system known in history as the "Tulchan Episcopacy" came into operation. Under Regent Morton "the vacant bishoprics and other great benefices were bestowed on noblemen, who presented preachers to them after they had taken care to secure to themselves a certain portion of their revenues."† And with the view of securing for the use of the court a larger proportion of the thirds of benefices, he obtained, in 1573, an order of Privy Council for uniting two, three, and even four parishes, and putting them under the care of one minister! This Act created great dissatisfaction, pluralities having always been condemned by the Reformers; it was considered one of the worst abuses in the Papal Church, and which indeed hastened its ruin. In his youth, Morton had acted as a grieve to a Highland proprietor, and he never forgot the lessons of carefulness he learned while so employed. His avarice increased with his years, and he shared with the "court" in the spoil thus secured.

The Scottish Parliament met at Edinburgh in 1587 under the presidency of James VI. In this Parliament

* M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 46.
† Tytler, *Hist.*, vol. iii., pp. 98-99.

the Church of Scotland made an effort by petition to get rid of the bishops foisted upon it by the secular power. It failed in its object, the Lords of the Articles, to whom the matter was referred, refusing its petition; but to soften the disappointment of the ministers, "they obtained the ratification of all the laws passed in favour of the Protestant religion during the minority of the king, the enactment of a new and severe statute against seminary priests and Jesuits, the most able, active, and insidious enemies of the Reformation, and an Act annexing the unappropriated church lands to the crown."* "If you take away," said the astute lordly proposers of this scheme, "if you take away the rich benefices, you will not be troubled with indolent bishops." Knowing the monarch, they anticipated that the estates would fall an easy prey to themselves, and in this they were not mistaken. The king gave his assent to the Act. Indeed, King James VI. played a great part in the dispersion of the Church estates. Instead of bestowing them upon the Church for the benefit of the preachers,† the education of his people, and the poor, and that the great edifices might be kept in repair, he chose to grant them to his favourites.

* BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. iii., pp. 151-2.

† There is a striking instance of how James robbed the ministers to gratify the land thirst of his nobility. Mr. Robert Bruce, minister of Edinburgh—the gentleman who crowned Queen Anne—had, about the year 1690, obtained from him a gift or portion for life out of the lands of Arbroath; but having, in common with other divines, incurred the hatred of the monarch for not using in prayer the very words which the court dictated on the first intimation of the Gowrie conspiracy, and for steadily refusing to give thanks to God for his deliverance in the words of the king—because he was not satisfied of the truth of his majesty's narrative, nor convinced of the treason of the earl—James privately disposed of the gift to Lord Arbroath.

Neither had he the sense, although often impecunious, to keep them when they came back to the crown, but preferred to demean himself by pleading poverty and craving Queen Elizabeth to send him gold; nor the statesmanship to settle an independent peasantry upon the soil, as was being done at that very time in England. Instead, among other grants, he, in 1590, constituted Dunfermline Abbey into a temporal lordship, and, with the monastery lands, conferred it on his queen, Anne of Denmark. With his customary fickleness, this arrangement only lasted for three years, for in 1593 the lordship was conferred on Sir Alexander Seton, Lord Chancellor, and afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, a Roman Catholic. The Abbey of Culross, in 1609, was also erected into a temporal lordship by him, and conferred on Sir James Colville, with a grant of the lands. In 1610 he granted the rich temporalities of Cambuskenneth, also those of Dryburgh and Inchmahome, to John, Earl of Mar (son of Regent Mar), "that he might be in a better condition to provide for his younger sons by Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Duke of Lennox, and a relation of his Majesty!" The duke was a Roman Catholic, and so was his daughter. While thus providing for the children of the daughter of his dead favourite, James did not forget the son, for he arbitrarily seized the portion of the revenues of the diocese of St. Andrews which were in the hands of the wretched Archbishop Patrick Adamson, leaving him and his family to starve or beg, and bestowed them on the young Duke of Lennox. One more example may suffice to show how the unscrupulous monarch (who, by-the-by, was "made a Christian" in baptism

by John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews) disposed of the Church estates. The last abbot of Newbattle—one of the old ecclesiastics—was a Mark Ker. He had a son. How he begat him no one can tell, for Father Keenan assures us that the Catholic Church is holy in her pastors. "They are all separated from the world and its gratifications."* That being so, we do not pretend to unravel the mystery, any more than we can the three bastard sons, and God alone knows how many daughters, who claimed Cardinal Beaton for their papa. But history records that James, in 1591, turned the spiritual lordship into a temporal one in favour of Abbot Ker's son, with a grant of the Newbattle lands, and, we suppose, the flocks of sheep grazing on the Crawford Hills also. And Pope Leo XIII., in 1899, granted a dispensation to the family for the "sacrilege" committed so long ago!

THE KING BRIBES THE NOBLES.

So far had James gone on the road of broken promises, that a severe persecution of the Presbyterian ministers, because they would not submit to his despotic will in the matter of Church government, raged during the years 1604 and 1605, John Welch, John Forbes, and others being cast into the dungeons of Blackness. In the mistaken belief that he had broken down all opposition, he considered it a favourable time to take another step in the introduction of Episcopacy, and with that object in view, a Parliament was held at Perth in August, 1606. The Presbyteries of the Church, or a number of them, deputed members to go to Perth, with instructions to watch that the

* *Cont. Cat.*, chap. vii., sec. 5.

Kirk suffered no injury. Understanding that it was intended, to meet the wishes of the king, to repeal the statute which had annexed the temporalities of dioceses to the crown, and to restore the bishops to their ancient privileges, they made a representation to the Lords of the Articles. In it they stated that "the episcopal office stood condemned by the laws of the Church, and that the bishops were restored to a place in Parliament without prejudice to the established ecclesiastical government; and craving that, if any Act were to be passed in their favour, the caveats enacted by the General Assembly, with the concurrence of his majesty, should be embodied in it." The chancellor (Sir Alexander Seton) gave answer, that the bishops would be restored to the state they were in sixty years ago. The ministers protested against such a proceeding. It is said the principal nobles were also averse to the restoration of Episcopacy; but James knew how to deal with them. He confirmed to these noblemen the Church estates that had been gifted to them or their predecessors by the crown, which they had bought from the bishops and priors, or had stolen; and he further bribed them by erecting a number of new temporal lordships out of the lands. The Episcopal bishops gave their consent to this barefaced alienation of the Church estates, and their doing so showed that they had no scruple in violating the caveats or cautions enacted by the General Assembly to guard the rights of the Kirk. They also agreed to the reduction of Church votes in Parliament from fifty-one to thirteen. This degrading compromise being effected, "the Parliament restored the bishops to all their ancient honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, and livings, and at the same time revived the

chapters which had been suppressed by the General Assembly."

After a ten years' struggle, Presbytery was overturned in the "Angelical" Assembly (called so because of the name of the coin distributed among all who would take it) held in Glasgow in the month of June, 1610. The Earl of Dunbar was Commissioner, and bribed many of the members to vote with the court by distributing 40,000 merks to facilitate matters, and to obtain their suffrages to establish Episcopacy. Two years later, the Acts of this Assembly were ratified, and the laws in favour of Presbytery rescinded, by Parliament.

In his infatuation to have Episcopacy set up, James expended large sums of English gold in buying back the alienated Church lands and revenues—the lands and revenues which he had given away!—that the bishops might live in a style suitable to their rank, thus putting his absurd idea into practice—"no bishop, no king!" James Melville says that this cost the king above £300,000 sterling.* But James had not lost his cunning; he bargained with the bishops that they should recoup him for his outlays on their behalf. This is evident from what Mr. Alexander Hume, master of the grammar school at Prestonpans, says in a letter he addressed to Mr. Andrew Melville after the latter went to Sedan. Writing in 1612, Hume says:—

"The bishops fret because they have failed in procuring for his majesty as large a subsidy as they had promised him. Their employment now is not to preach Christ, but the king. On the Sabbath before the meeting of Parliament the bishops of Galloway and Brechin told the people that the king had a right, not only to their property, but also to their lives, and that they

* *History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland*, p. 265.

should grudge no sacrifice for one who was the defender of their faith, a confessor and semi-martyr. Brechin further exhorted the women to retrench their superfluous expenses in dress, and the men to avoid excess in the use of wine, that they might have it in their power to give the more to the king. Such is the doctrine of our Episcopal Church. We are to abstain from vice not as vice, but in order to fill the royal coffers!"*

Having caused three Scotch bishops to be consecrated by three English bishops, James, after a few years, made a great effort to obtrude the English forms of worship into the Church (which had been his intention all along, although he denied it), under the plea of uniformity. This was the Scottish Solomon's reformation. An ineffectual attempt was made at St. Andrews to do so in 1617, but he succeeded, with the help of the prince's "led-horse," in accomplishing his object in the Assembly held at Perth in 1618. "By flatteries, falsehoods, and threatenings, a majority of votes was procured in favour of such English rites as it pleased the court at that time to select. The Five Articles of Perth, as the Acts of this Assembly are usually called, enjoined kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, the observance of holidays, confirmation of young persons, private baptism, and private communicating." These were ratified by Parliament in 1621, and enforced by the High Commission (the English Inquisition which James introduced into Scotland); but they were disliked, met with great resistance, and were never obeyed by the majority of the people.

And so the conflict went on with ever-varying success till 1638, in which year the General Assembly

* M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 304.

of the Church of Scotland met in Glasgow and swept away the whole fabric of Prelacy, so elaborately created by James and Charles I. Once more was Episcopacy dragooned upon the Scots during the long and fierce persecution, beginning in 1661 by Charles II., only ending when the prelatical Old Man of the Sea was finally cast down at the Revolution in 1688.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REFORMERS PRESERVE THE ABBEYS.

AFTER what has been advanced, it will be admitted, we think, that it was the Roman Catholics, and not the Presbyterians, who played havoc with the abbeys of Scotland, and no more requires to be said on that point here. But if it is necessary to show further that the Reformers desired to preserve the abbeys, it may be stated, in conclusion, that the First Book of Discipline was written by Knox. It is a summary of directions for the guidance of those engaged in the work of the Church under the new conditions which had arisen, and is very stringent, even exacting, in requiring that the kirks be kept in a good state of repair, "lest that the Word of God and the ministration of the sacraments, by unseemliness of the place, come into contempt."

It provides for the upkeep of all cathedrals and collegiate kirks, and chapels attached to monasteries which were at the same time parish kirks, and using them for Protestant worship. This affected the great majority of what remained of the finest ecclesiastical buildings throughout Scotland. It is true cathedral-kirks, if not used as parish kirks, are mentioned in the Discipline among the houses to be suppressed, but the fact is they were neither suppressed nor destroyed. So far was this from being the case, that it was found necessary to use the cathedral-kirks and many of the

chapels attached to monasteries which were not parish kirks as places of worship, and not only these but chapter-houses and refectories as well, while many others were used as schools and colleges. That this is so is apparent from the special laws enacted by the First General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1560, providing that "no injury be done to glass or iron work in kirks, and that the cathedrals, if used for divine service, should be carefully maintained." This is also apparent from the Act of Privy Council relating to the suppression of the abbeys, an Act which did not extend "to cathedrals or to parish kirks."*

In carrying out the Act of Privy Council, an order was issued by the Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stewart, and Lord Ruthven, and had reference to Dunkeld. It is still in evidence, and is in the handwriting of the Lord James, to whom it was committed to carry out, in the northern parts of the kingdom, the Act regarding idolatrous houses. The order shows that the greatest care was enjoined to be taken that, in purging the cathedral, the fabric was not to be injured. It is addressed to the lairds of Arntilly and Kinvaid, and contains these instructions:—

"Fail not to pass incontinent to the kirk of Dunkeld, and take down the whole images thereof, and bring forth to the kirkyard, and burn them openly. And likewise cast down the altars, and purge the kirk of all kind of monuments of idolatry. . . . . Fail not but ye take good heed that neither the desks, windows, nor doors be any ways hurt or broken [nor stone work], either glass work or iron work." †

The same instructions were sent to the other magis-

* Spotswood, *Hist.*, p. 174.

† M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, vol. i., p. 452.

trates throughout the land. This order puts beyond doubt what the real intentions of the Reformers were, and if the multitude at times went further, that need not be wondered at. We see the same thing occurring in various parts of the United Kingdom even now.

It is true that Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, in a letter addressed to Sir Henry Percy, the English commander at Berwick, at the end of June, 1559, after informing him that The Congregation mean nothing except the reformation of religion, says that their manner of procedure is to "pull down all manner of friaries, and some abbeys, which will not receive the reformation." * It is perhaps unfortunate that Kirkaldy does not name the friaries and abbeys which The Congregation "pulled down." But it will be observed that he carefully discriminates between those who would and those who would not "receive the reformation." The friars, of course, would be the most stubborn to deal with—they would not care to leave their comfortable howffs so long as they could stay, and had no higher principle than self to guide them—and more of their houses would be pulled down than any others; but many priories had been left untouched, and almost all the abbeys, notwithstanding the reformation of religion. And also all the kirks, for he says nothing about them.

Secretary Cecil, receiving his information from Percy, and also from Sadler (two gentlemen in close touch with the Reformers at the moment), in a letter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, ambassador at the Court of France, dated July 9, 1559, says: "The Protestants be at Edinburgh. They offer no violence, but dissolve religious houses, directing the lands thereof to the

* TYTLER, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 99.

crown, and to ministry in the Church. The parish churches they deliver of altars and images."*

That this was the way the Protestants had acted hitherto is confirmed even from Catholic sources. In the course of some negotiations with Rome, in 1555, about the obtaining of a confirmation and extension of powers formerly granted to the Archbishop of St. Andrews as primate and *legatus natus* of Scotland, from which Gavin Dunbar, late Archbishop of Glasgow, had procured an exemption, the primate urges, in support of his claims, that "there had always been a great number of heretics in the diocese of Glasgow;" that various scandals and enormities, such as "the burning of images of God [!] and the saints, the contempt of prelates, the beating of priests and monks, and the eating of forbidden meats," were committed within its bounds, and that the archbishop could not suppress these evils in his diocese, and at the same time hindered the primate from exerting his powers for this purpose.† The explanation is that James Beaton did not follow in the footsteps of his uncle, and remorselessly attempt to stamp out the Reformers; hence John Hamilton's appeal to Rome to be permitted to burn Glasgow "heretics" as "rebels" against the pope, as he did Wallace and Mill. It will be observed that in his list of "enormities" the casting down of kirks is not mentioned, and that is just what might be expected.

"The best answer to all the invective which has been thrown out against the promoters of the Reformation in Scotland, as uncultivated barbarians, for their conduct on this and similar occasions, is the

* M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, vol. i., p. 438.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 292.

strong, indisputable fact, that in the height of their power, during the whole struggle for liberty, few were banished on account of religion, fewer still imprisoned, and none put to death; and this is the testimony not of their friends, but of their enemies."—*Vide* Leslie, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, lib. x.*

And honest Robert Baillie, with Calderwood's MS. *History* in his hand, writing about seventy years after Kirkaldy and Cecil, in answer to Bishop Maxwell's jeremiads, says: "What you speak of Mr. Knox preaching for the putting down of churches is like the rest of your lies. I have not heard that in all our land above three or four churches were cast down."† Had Knox and the other Reformers wanted to destroy the abbeys, it would, in the prevailing excitement, have been an easy matter for them to have set fire to the buildings, as the English Catholics did; that they did not do so, is proof sufficient that they had no such object in view.

In all broad Scotland, at a time of unprecedented upheaval, when society was split in twain, and when an old religious system, the roots of which were sunk deep down in Scottish soil long before Christianity was heard of, "*three* or *four* churches were cast down!" And what exaggerations, what untruths—falsehoods visible as red poppies in a cornfield—have been indulged in over them. The three or four kirks "cast down" have been multiplied into the demolition of the whole of the churches in the realm. And what a wail has been made over them. Had not only the wealthy monasteries with their lazy monks and begging friars, and the rich nunneries with their curious women—

* BUCHANAN, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 409, note.

† *Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland*, p. 40.

the cathedrals with their histrionic priests and idolatrous rites, and the kirks with their droning seculars—but castles and towns and villages been destroyed, we could not have had more monstrous falsehoods and abominable stories told about the work of noble men—men who, with all their faults, gave intellectual life to a nation steeped to the lips in superstition and idolatry. It was these malignant untruths and disgraceful slanders which drew from Defoe the indignant protest that Scotland "has been represented to the world in so many devils' coats and fools' coats," that her own sons do not know their mother!

If the Reformers wanted one thing more than another it was that their doctrine and worship should be scriptural, and not after nature as the Phallic, nor after humanity as the Pagan, with their obscene crosses and idols,* nor after the Papal Church with its deification

* The crucifix is not Christ; it is the Lord Serapis, that is, Osiris. The cross is not the emblem of Christianity, but it is the symbol of Paganism. It is not sacred because Christ was hanged upon it, any more than our gallows is. But it is sacred (1) because it is man himself, for man is built cruciform; and (2) because it is the *Crux Ansata*, or Sign of Life, of the Egyptians. It is not sacred to, nor is it the emblem of Jesus; but it is sacred to, and is the symbol of Dionysus (Bacchus), of Tammuz, of Osiris, of Seb, of Hercules, and of Jupiter, at bottom one and the same sun deity. In ancient Rome, dogs were annually crucified in substitution of an animal sacrifice for a human sacrifice to the sun-god. It is known that the cross was venerated, honoured, worshipped, and adored in Egypt fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. To the Buddhist, the cross is "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," and he sings its praises as "the divine tree, the tree of the gods, the tree of life and knowledge, and productive of whatever is good and desirable, and is placed in the terrestrial paradise."† The Catholics, in the Office of the Cross, call it

† WILFORD, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x., p. 124; also, Genesis ii. 16, 17.

of the elements. They appealed to Scripture for their doctrine, and to the reasoning and judging faculties of their hearers, not to their imagination and taste. Æsthetics may be good in their proper place, but "sensuous perception" will never make Christians. This accounts for their determination to purge, as well as their anxiety to preserve, the parish kirks. There can be no doubt but that the intentions of the Reformers were as we have stated, and the evidence we have been able to adduce proves that the stories of acts of violence committed by the Presbyterians at the Reformation are gross exaggerations, ridiculous as they are untrue.

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the "Tree of Life," and apostrophise it in these words: "Hail, O Cross, triumphal wood, true salvation of the world, among trees there is none like thee in leaf, flower, and bud. . . . . O Cross, our only hope, increase righteousness to the godly, and pardon the offences of the guilty."* And the Anglicans, not to be behind in adoration of the cross, sing:—

"O faithful cross, thou peerless tree,
No forest yields the like of thee,
Leaf, flower, and bud;
Sweet is the wood, and sweet the weight
And sweet the nails that penetrate
Thee, thou sweet wood."†

To the Mahometans, the cross is the symbol of the ancient Phallic religion, as well as of Christianity. The Arabs built it into the walls of their houses as a charm to chase away evil spirits; but coming to understand its real significance, they cast it aside, and set up the crescent instead.

* *Review of Epistle* of Dr. Gentianus Harvet of Louvaine, p. 251, A.

† *Devotions on the Passion.*

APPENDIX.

DECAY OF ABBEYS OUTSIDE SCOTLAND.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE same carelessness and neglect, not to use a harsher term, by the owners, or by the constituted authorities, with, of course, the same destructive work as in Scotland, is continuing to go on even now in many countries, Protestant and Catholic alike. Let us turn for a moment to England and the Continent for examples of this.

Much of the richly-moulded stonework of the west front of Westminster Abbey has almost completely crumbled away. The beautiful exterior of Henry VII.'s chapel is showing signs here and there of rapid decay. In the cloisters, the ravages of time are telling so powerfully that the stonework has perished to an alarming extent; indeed, great pieces of moulding have entirely disappeared, and more will vanish in the same way very soon. Other parts of the magnificent fabric are going the same way. Long ago attention was directed to the bad condition of the stone on the outside of the Abbey, for Sir Christopher Wren admitted that "the stone is decayed four inches deep, and falls off perpetually in great scales." The decay of the building is partly due to the great age of the structure —the natural decay of which has no doubt been accelerated by the general smoky atmosphere of London—and partly to the fact that much of the stone is not well suited to resist the damaging effects of such an atmosphere. But while

thus neglecting the building, the Anglican "priests" have not omitted to "adorn" the edifice with a bit of "religious sculpture" in the form of a statue of the Virgin and Child. At the porticos of the abbey, on a pedestal of grey Derbyshire marble, they have placed a Romish Madonna, 7 feet high. However, the west front is being restored, new stones replacing those which had nearly rotted away.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

It has long been known that there are numerous cracks in St. Paul's Cathedral. In fact, the great structure "settled down" even in Sir Christopher Wren's time, and the famous architect had to carry out certain works for the purpose of remedying the evil. Iron ties were fixed in the walls where the fissures appeared, and the latter were otherwise carefully "stopped." These precautions were continued for more than a hundred years, when it was thought all was about right; but the cracks re-opened at short intervals, showing movement on the part of the building, which seems to be still going on, for fresh fissures are appearing. These latter are not very large—and indeed in no part of the cathedral is there a great crack—but they are numerous, and all tending in the same direction, thus increasing the danger by enlarging the older ones. The bars of the windows just below the Whispering Gallery are slightly buckled, and underneath are several cracks; but a window and a wall in the south transept are in a worse condition. One of the great porticos is believed to be in danger of falling, a gradual process of loosening having gone on for some time. The stones of the roof of this portico are so separated one from another, that any person in a position above them can see the people beneath as they enter and leave the church. For this part of the structure a thorough repair is necessary, and it is possible that some rebuilding might have to be done. It is thought that the

nature of the ground on which the cathedral is built is one great cause of the mischief; it is yellow clay—"potter's clay"—and needs moisture to keep it solid, which it does not get owing to the drainage and railway and other tunnelling operations beneath. The authorities are endeavouring to arrest the danger by keeping the building in repair. In addition to those men who are engaged from time to time in executing the larger alterations, there are about forty others, representing practically the whole of the building trades, permanently employed carrying out what may be described as repairing work. Time has dealt unkindly with the statues of the apostles over the transepts, which are now almost unrecognisable, but they are being replaced by new ones. Some of these images weigh nearly seven tons! It takes about £10,000 every year for the upkeep of the cathedral, and even that large sum is not enough, for an extra £60,000 is spoken of as necessary to give it a thorough overhaul. And all the while the Ritualist "priests" are befooling the laity, having put in a grand reredos "to teach the people!"

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

This cathedral was fast hastening to ruin when, about twenty years ago, it was placed in the hands of the masons. As is St. Paul's, it is also a very expensive undertaking. Only the other day the restoration of the west front—a seven years' job—was completed at a cost of about £13,000. In addition to this, there has been spent upon other parts of the great edifice a sum of over £36,000. And more is needed, for there are other instalments of the work awaiting the hand of the builder.

UPTON-ON-SEVERN.

Many other churches might be mentioned (such as All Souls' Church, Langham Place, London, from which, without the slightest warning, a fall of coping occurred on July

10, 1902, killing one lady and injuring three others), but in view of those already given we need not do so, and would only mention one more—the Parish Church of Upton-on-Severn—to show how quickly houses, even when solidly and strongly built with skilful masonry, decay before the severity of our climate. This church, left unprotected from the rains and frosts of only a quarter of a century, is already showing signs of rapid decay, and unless something is done soon towards its upkeep it is probable that on any day in the near future the roof may fall in, and the building become a wreck.

AVIGNON.

In the month of April, 1900, a paper was read before the Académie des Inscriptions, Paris, and its author had something pertinent to say about the destruction threatening the ancient monuments of France, and especially as to the fate menacing some of the historic edifices of Avignon, the home of the pontiffs in the fourteenth century. For about seventy years this city was the ecclesiastical capital of Europe, and earned the name of "Babylon," less by being the place of "exile" of the popes, than as the scene of those abominations which marked the decline of Popery in later mediæval times. The immediate cause of the reading of the paper was that the municipality of the ancient city was meditating the destruction of the ramparts, which was characterised as gross vandalism. In the course of the reading, he stated that the old palace of the pontiffs was being allowed to fall into decay, while many churches in it and elsewhere throughout France are threatened with dilapidation and ruin. The church in which Petrarch first saw Laura was destroyed more than a century ago, in the disorders that followed the annexation of Avignon to revolutionary France, a circumstance illustrative of what may have taken place in a Scotch town at the Reformation.

ROME.

All this may be said of Rome itself. Indeed, the cathedral-church of the pope is causing much uneasiness to prominent members of the Papal Church in that city. It has been discovered that the roof of St. John Lateran threatens to fall in. The church is one of the four "basilicas," and the mother church of Rome; it takes precedence even of St. Peter's. It is in the charge of the Franciscan order of monks, who, it seems, are unable to raise the sum of £20,000 for its repair. Yet the pope is known to be a millionaire.

ASSISI.

The church of St. Francis of Assisi is reported to be in a bad way, and is so dilapidated that the rain has found its way through the roof and damaged if not ruined some of the paintings. It will take a considerable sum of money to repair it.

VENICE.

An instance of the necessity for careful watchfulness on the part of those in whose charge are great structures was given to Europe on the morning of July 14, 1902. At ten o'clock of the forenoon of that day the bell tower of St. Mark's suddenly collapsed. Shortly before the hour mentioned the authorities warned the people to leave the piazza. Five minutes later, the tall fabric fell into the square. In describing the catastrophe, an eye-witness stated that "one of the columns of the bell-chamber at the top fell, followed by the golden angel at the summit, and in another moment the whole stone top of the campanile came crashing to the ground, crushing the Loggia Sansovino. There was a pause, and then the whole edifice sank with a moan almost gently to the ground." No lives were lost, and no damage was done to the church.

As is the case with most of the Italian campaniles, or bell towers, St. Mark's was detached from the cathedral; it stood in front of it, and alongside the shops on one side of the piazza. It was a square tower, begun during the reign of Doge Pietro Domenico, in 902, and the work went slowly on till 1150, when the tower proper was finished. In 1510 the belfry was added; the design, by Maestro Buono, was simple yet impressive, and was a loggia of four arches in each facade, terminating in a lofty pyramid. The width of the tower at the base was 42 feet, and it rose to a height of 323 feet. The edifice was crowned by a gilt figure, said to have been 30 feet high, and which served the purpose of a weather-cock.

It looks as if many of the old historic houses of Venice were about to collapse. The technical commission appointed to inspect the buildings after the campanile had fallen reported that in order to stop subsidences and cracks it is indispensable to strengthen the wooden, metal, and mural supports ignorantly weakened or cut out by the proprietors or those in charge, and not allow any further wounds to be inflicted on the pillars, or to be tampered with in any way. In consequence of these representations, libraries, statuary collections, museums, and all heavy objects have been removed from the edifices, and strong supports placed under the weaker parts until these can be thoroughly strengthened. This can be done none too soon, for within three weeks after the fall of the tower, as the result of a violent storm in the Adriatic, a large and fine window, and one of the capitals in the basilica of Saints John and Paul have been destroyed.

The decay of the campanile of St. Mark's was not altogether unknown. It is said, on good authority, that the architect Signor Vendrasco warned the government in 1892, if not earlier, of the dangerous condition of the tower, urging its repair, and stating that it would collapse

unless repointed and strengthened with iron bands. Four weeks before it fell, he again called the attention of the authorities to the bad state of the building, and for reward was cashiered! On the morning it collapsed, he is reported to have said: "It will fall in a few hours." Professor Belar, the learned head of the Seismic Observatory at Laibach, also appears to have been aware of the dangerous condition of the tower. The same day on which it fell, he stated that "the disturbances of the earth and sea have for centuries been especially strong in Northern Italy, and that the collapse of the campanile of St. Mark's has long been in progress, the earthquake in Salonika having completed the work of destruction." He further stated that he noticed a marked inclination of the tower in the month of April previous to its destruction. But the more immediate cause was the cutting of a trench along the east wall to remove a number of rain-beaten stones. To prevent the rain from entering the little marble hall, or loggia, built by Sansovino, at the foot of the campanile, a stone coping had been inserted in the tower where the roof of the hall joined it. As the rain was somehow getting into the hall, and the loggia was showing signs of damp, it was proposed that the coping should be removed and zinc or lead-sheeting substituted. With this object in view, the official engineer, on the 7th of July, seven days before the disaster, ordered the eastern wall of the tower to be cut. Instead of removing one or two stones at a time, and inserting the lead and the redressed stones, the workmen cut out one-half of them at once, or 25 feet of stonework. A wound was thus made all along one face of the tower $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The disastrous nature of the cut may be understood when it is stated that, in the year 1745, the campanile was severely damaged by lightning. It was not built solidly, but was a sort of casing filled in with rubble 6 feet thick. In consequence

of the damage, the whole front of the eastern facade was rebuilt to a thickness of 1½ feet against the old wall; but though tied into it at intervals, the new wall was a separate structure, and a firm equilibrium between the two was never established. An eye-witness said that the masons "dug through the new wall of the campanile, and struck the old original wall, which they found separated from the new, and full of holes and cracks. Whilst working, the old wall slipped down an inch or two." As quickly as possible the engineer inserted wooden staves and wedges, but it was too late. On the 9th, so rapidly did the fissures show themselves, it was noticed that the new wall was cracked at the north-east corner, above the hall, at the spot where the work was begun, and on the 10th it had enlarged. In the course of the 11th the fissure struck across the north side of the tower, sloping upward to the second and third windows from the ground; and on the 12th it passed behind the fourth window, and through the fifth. On the 13th "the situation was, to use the word of an engineer, 'desperate,' and the campanile was doomed. On Monday, the 14th, the crack visibly opened whilst we watched it, and the end came in a moment, when the whole structure sunk into itself." The tower fell as a tree would fall after the woodman had with his axe made a deep incision into the wood. The campanile had a lean to one side, and when the coping stones were removed it collapsed.

St. Mark's Church was founded in 828 by the Doge Giustiniani Participazio to receive the relics of Mark the Evangelist, which two Venetian merchants, named Buono and Rustico, who were then trading in the port of Alexandria with ten galleys, had purloined from a temple in that city. This chapel—it was the ducal chapel—was destroyed by fire in 976. The restoration of the church was begun by Pietro Orseolo I. (A.D. 976-978), surnamed "The Holy," but the work had not progressed much when,

leaving Venice secretly within two years after being appointed doge, he retired into a convent. The work was carried on by his successors for more than a century, Doge Dominico Silvio (A.D. 1071-1084) enriching the edifice with the mosaics and other embellishments. The new church was consecrated in 1085. The plan is that of a Greek cross, with the addition of spacious porticos, and measures in the interior 205 feet in length, and 164 in breadth; while the exterior is 260 feet from east to west, and 215 at the transepts. The church is composite, but the semi-circular arch prevails almost throughout in both doors and windows. There is a noble dome over the centre; cupolas, loggias, and pyramids ornament the roof; "the facade exhibits two rows of columns, of various kinds of marble, of various styles, and various dimensions;" also horses, lions, and other figures. It is a wonderful building, rich in mosaics and sculpture, both inside and out, for a description of which the reader is referred to that prince of word painters, Ruskin, who enters fully into the subject.* The choir, the north transept, the baptistry, the vestry, the treasury, and the pavement are all studied by art students for their special beauty. So high an authority as Canova placed St. Mark's above the cathedrals of Pisa and Siena, and it is admitted to be the finest church in Italy. It was made the cathedral of Venice in 1507.

As already said, the chapel was begun to be erected in 828, at which period Mark ousted Theodore as patron saint of Venice. After the lapse of nigh three-quarters of a century, the erection of the campanile was begun by the Doge Pietro Tribuno in 902, and six hundred years elapsed before it was finished. Thus the campanile stood for one thousand years, and is almost as old as the legend of St. Mark. According to the legend, it would appear that the remains of Mark, after having for centuries (Mark the

* RUSKIN, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii., sec. 13, 14, 15.

Evangelist died and was buried in the eighth year of the reign of Nero, A.D. 64) reposed in a church in Alexandria, were in danger of desecration by a caliph of Egypt, who was building a palace in that city, and embellishing it with the spoils of the Christian churches. It is not very clear what interest the two Venetian merchants mentioned above could have in an affair of this kind, except as merchants instructed before leaving Venice; but it is said that they resolved to possess themselves of the relics. They bribed the chief-priest of the temple to hand over to them the remains of the saint for transference to Venice, "where they would rest in eternal security." To conceal the theft from the Alexandrian Christians, the tomb of St. Claudia was desecrated, and the body deposited in the linen shroud from which the remains of Mark had been lifted. Thus "the sepulchres of the dead were not spared;" but such was the sanctity of the Evangelist, that on the disturbance of his remains the church was filled with a delicious fragrance, a celestial odour. This attracted crowds of devotees, curious to know what could be the cause of such a fine smell, and to satisfy themselves that the "holy treasure" was safe. So cleverly had the desecration of the tombs been effected, and the incense made to fill the house, that the Christians detected no change, and the chief-priest was left to himself. The body-snatchers got clear off. The purloined relics were placed in a basket, stuffed with herbs and pork, and carried to the wharf, the porters shouting, "Kansir! Kansir!" (Pork! Pork!), a cry which was sufficient to keep any prying Moslem at a distance. To secure the safety of the relics, and that a prosperous voyage might be ensured, the basket was wrapped in a sail, and hoisted to the yard-arm, where it was held by a line. As it would never do to get the remains into Venice without a miracle, a violent tempest is said to have arisen on the homeward voyage—a storm

which threatened to engulf the ship and all its crew, and would have done so but for the timely appearance of Mark himself, who ordered the master to furl his sails! He must have been a poor master-sailor who did not know to run with bare poles in a gale. On the arrival of the relics at Venice, the people abandoned themselves to solemn prayers, solemn processions, solemn banquets, and solemn public holidays, while crowds of pilgrims flocked into the city from the surrounding countries to pay their homage to the blessed evangelist. The winged "Lion of St. Mark" was blazoned on the standards of the Republic, and "Viva San Marco!" was the gathering-shout of its citizens, the battle-cry of its warriors. Ruskin remarks on the singularity of the circumstance that "the weak disciple who had turned back when his hand was on the plough" should, in later times, have been symbolised by a lion, and his name made a war-cry to "reanimate the rage of the soldier." Well may he say so; but the probability is that the priests turned the Roman war-god Mars into Mark, and if so the saint would receive from the Venetians the same honour and veneration which they had long been accustomed to give to Romulus. Their affections were given to the same god under a different name, but so similar that the great body of the "faithful" would never detect the deception practised upon them.

The old chapel of St. Mark, as already said, was destroyed by fire in 976, and, as may be supposed, the relics of the evangelist perished in the conflagration. The new church was to be consecrated on October 8, 1085; but how could the ceremony take place without the relics? This was a dilemma out of which the priests had to get, for if the homage of the people to the relics was withdrawn the revenues of the church would suffer great loss. What was to be done? A miracle was all that was needed to restore the saint, and give sufficient solemnity to the consecration,

and a miracle was decided upon. It was known in Venice that the place where the relics of the holy evangelist had lain was forgotten; but the resourceful priests hit upon the plan of hiding a bronze box in a pillar of the restored church. How the relics were miraculously re-discovered, and under what circumstances, is related by the historian Carnaro. He gravely says:—

"After the repairs undertaken by the Doge Orseolo, the place in which the body of the Holy Evangelist rested had been altogether forgotten; so that the Doge, Vitale Faliero, was entirely ignorant of the place of the venerable deposit. This was no light affliction, not only to the pious doge, but to all the citizens and people; so that at last, moved by confidence in the Divine mercy, they determined to implore, with prayer and fasting, the manifestation of so great a treasure, which did not now depend upon any human effort. A general fast being proclaimed, and a solemn procession appointed for the 25th day of June, while the people assembled in church interceded with God in fervent prayers for the desired boon, they beheld, with as much amazement as joy, a slight shaking in the marbles of a pillar, which, presently falling to the earth, exposed to the view of the rejoicing people the chest of bronze in which the body of the evangelist was laid."

It is this "miracle" of restoring the consumed relics of St. Mark which Ruskin characterises as "one of the best arranged and most successful impostures ever attempted by the clergy of the Romish Church." True; but had there been no relics—had there been no impostures—had there been no pious frauds, there would have been no cathedrals. The saint had a ring, but it was stolen in 1585. As for the manufactured relics, though they were deposited in a secret place known only to the reigning doge and certain special custodians, they disappeared long ago. Yet the Alexandrian priest was assured that they "would rest in eternal security" in Venice!

CUENCA.

Not only is the waste and decay of historic buildings going on daily in Europe, but in America also. At the conclusion of high mass in the cathedral of Cuenca, Ecuador, South America, on April 14, 1902, the tower collapsed, and, besides three houses adjoining the fabric, a large part of the cloisters were buried beneath the ruins. Several lives were lost. The damage done is very great, so great that the whole cathedral threatens to fall.

THE CONVENT LANDS OF ENGLAND.

CATHOLICS SUPPRESS THE MONASTERIES.

A few words may be said about the loss of estates by the Romish Church in England, if only to show that there, as elsewhere, the adherents of that system were the parties who broke up the monasteries and seized the estates, or the larger and better portion of them. It would take up too much of our limited space to give all the cases, so that we can only refer to the more important ones.

A characteristic incident took place in the reign of Henry IV. The king urgently needed supplies, and in the Catholic Parliament of 1404 it was proposed that he should seize upon the revenues of the clergy. It was argued that the lessening of their incomes would be an advantage to both Church and State, for two reasons—first, their riches made the priests negligent of their duties; and second, the burdens on the people would be lightened. At this cool proposal the primate (Arundel) was aghast. He rose in his place and denounced it, declaring that "the stripping of the clergy of their estates would put a stop to their prayers night and day for the welfare of the State." The

Speaker smiled, and quietly rejoined that "he thought the prayers of the Church a very slender supply!" More than one hundred monasteries were suppressed, and their possessions granted to the king and his heirs.

Cardinal Wolsey, in 1516, was made legate *à latere* by Pope Leo X., a commission which gave him almost unlimited power over the monks. He tried his hand at a reformation of morals in the convents and to remedy notorious ecclesiastical abuses, but failing to do so obtained a bull from Leo, dated June 10, 1519, empowering him to inspect every monastery in England; and by yet another bull—that of Pope Clement VII., dated April 3, 1524—the cardinal was further authorised to dissolve several specified religious houses.* All the minor convents had been suppressed, and their possessions confiscated, under the authority of a Papal bull, and by the last-named pope's license, given in 1527. In the following year, the same pope granted permission to Cardinal Wolsey and Bishop Gardiner to examine into the state of the remaining monasteries, with power to dissolve such of them as they considered unfit according to their pleasure. Henry VIII. ascended the throne in 1509, so that all these severe steps to purge the convents took place between seven and nineteen years after that event, and by the ecclesiastical authorities alone. Cardinal Wolsey seized the estates, also the goods and chattels, belonging to several of the suppressed religious houses to provide for the endowment of his scholastic foundations at Ipswich and Oxford. These foundations were about the only worthy things this great favourite and boon companion of the king did during his long ascendancy of fifteen years. The precedent was not lost upon his master.

King Henry, in 1535, issued a commission to examine into the condition of the convents, complaints having been

* BURNET, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i., p. 36. Edition, 1830.

made to him of the continued profligacy existing within the walls of these houses. Cardinal Wolsey reported to Pope Paul III. the frightful state of depravity which was brought to light; and when the report was laid before the House of Commons—so awful was the immorality revealed—there was a universal shout of "Down with them." In the month of February of the following year, an Act of Parliament was passed which suppressed three hundred and eighty religious houses of the inferior class. By this means an annual revenue of £32,000 fell to the public exchequer, equal to about £250,000 present money, besides a large amount of valuable goods in the form of gold and silver images, silver crosses, old bones encased in silver and covered with jewels, and household plenishing, estimated at £100,000, equal to about £800,000 sterling. Another Act of Parliament soon followed. It abolished the remaining monastic houses, said to be six hundred and forty-five by some authorities, while others give the number at six hundred and fifty-three. The annual rental of these was £171,314 13s 4d, equal to about £1,370,000 present British money. Sir John Sinclair, from an account subsequently to the suppression being drawn up, shows that the annual income of the religious houses suppressed by Henry must at the time have amounted to £273,000, which at a moderate computation would now yield a revenue of at least £6,000,000.

One can only form but a poor idea of the rage of the monks at all this wealth slipping out of their rapacious fingers. It did not pass into Protestant hands. It passed from the hands of one set of Papists into those of another, *i.e.*, from the possession of the monks into the possession of the king.* But the Government offered the abbots and superiors of these houses handsome pensions on condition

* Mageohegan, the Romish historian, says that Henry VIII. was not guilty of heresy, but of schism. Vol. ii., p. 310. Paris, 1758.

of their surrendering their establishments into the hands of the king. Not only were these pensions offered, but regularly and scrupulously paid to all those who accepted them on the terms laid down.* It may be stated that of the Parliament which passed the Act that the convents, with their estates and other property, such as ornaments, images, jewels, plenishings, &c., should be handed over to the king, the House of Lords consisted of—

2 archbishops,
16 bishops,
2 guardians of spiritualities,
26 abbots,
2 priors, and
46 temporal peers.

Every single one of these members of the House of Peers was a Papist.†

All this great wealth belonged to the poor, self-denying monks and friars, who, if we are to believe Father Keenan, retired to the cloister to avoid "this world's temptations," and so carry out in practice the counsels of Christ.‡ But the figures given above tell a different story. They show, that although the Scriptures assure us that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," the Apostolic Roman Church holds that the earth is the *priests'*, and the fulness thereof. §

* HOOK, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. vi., p. 75. London, 1868.

† *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 40.

‡ *Cont. Cat.*, chap xxxiv.

§ The value of the property in England and Wales belonging to the Roman Catholic Church to-day is estimated by Papists themselves at about £50,000,000 (*Catholic Times*, April 25, 1902). Yet Cardinal Vaughan, in a letter to the public press setting forth his objections to a proposed amendment on the Education Bill, the effect of which would be, if passed (according to him), to place the managers of denominational schools in a helpless minority on the Board, says his co-religionists had

THE MONKS A DANGER TO THE STATE.

Although Henry's necessities had much to do with the seizure of the monastic revenues which lay so temptingly

"better remain as they are, *poor* but free, than put their heads into such a noose" (*The Times*, July 15, 1902).

The wealth of the monks in the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, in Montreal, Canada, is estimated at about £7,000,000 (*Glasgow Herald*, Dec. 7, 1896).

The treasures of the Vatican are worth about £3,000,000, and on one of the many jubilees of Pope Leo XIII.—the jubilee of his priesthood—presents amounting to £1,600,000 sterling were given to him by the faithful. The great bulk of his private fortune is said to be invested in London with the Jew—the Rothschilds. The Turks, too, had some of his money, but he sold his Turkish bonds lately, and re-invested the cash in Italian stock. While we write, it is announced that Count Adami has made a gift to the pope of his villa near Chieti, and some six hundred works of art contained therein. The money value of the gift is estimated at £200,000. It is also announced that Leo XIII. is soon to become the owner of what is stated to be the largest jewel in the world. It is a topaz of Brazil, and will be a gift from the Neapolitans on the occasion of his present jubilee. On its magnificent bright surface is cut an imaginary figure of Christ breaking the eucharist bread, the work of Professor A. Cariello. So extremely hard was the stone that an infinite number of cutting wheels of graded sizes were used, and a great quantity of diamond dust. Between diamond dust, wheels, and other tools, the committee of gentlemen, to whom was entrusted the purchase and cutting of the stone, have spent over £4000. The topaz weighs about 24 ounces, and is surrounded with a rich gold setting. It is 18 centimetres long by 11·4 wide. On hearing of the proposed presentation, the pope is said to have exclaimed: "I like unique things, and, above all, things beautiful to look at!" Papal jubilees are generally fruitful of good and pleasant and beautiful things in the shape of jewels and white and yellow images, and the present one is no exception. And to crown all, a new tiara of solid gold, which will weigh 2 lbs., is being made for the venerable pontiff.

At his death in June, 1902, Archbishop Eyre, of Glasgow, left £200,000. The great bulk of this large fortune he bequeathed to two or three priests to do what they list with, cautioning them, however, "to have the fear of God before their eyes." There were no public

to his hand, there were grave political reasons as well. The monks were a danger to him.* They had great in-

bequests, which is matter for regret. It would have been more to the purpose had he left it to the Catholic poor: to the Parish Councils of Glasgow, the Barony, Govan, and Partick.

"In consequence of the decree ordering the monks of the Chartreuse to quit France, they have ceded their important business of the manufacture of the famous Chartreuse to a company for the sum of eight million francs per annum" (Central News Agency, August 16, 1902). Apparently that is the sum—£320,000 a year—for which the monks of La Grande Chartreuse, expelled from France under the Associated Law, have sold the secret of their green liqueur to a private company. The Government of France, like that of Britain, levies a tax on incomes, and not being satisfied that the schedules returned by the religious houses were correct, demanded that they register themselves. The Chartreuse monks declined to do so, hence their expulsion.

* It is the same in the Philippines to-day, or was till lately. The Spanish friars, just as the Italian monks did in old Scotland, gradually but surely secured possession of the best lands in the islands, to the great injury of the people, and even of the seculars. They also engaged in trade, as friars do elsewhere. The priests traded with the natives, but in such a way that the latter could only barter through the monks, or were forced to accept the very lowest silver prices from them, and the result was a monopoly of the most oppressive kind. The rule of Spain was bad—it was tyranny—but to free themselves from the bondage of the friars was at the bottom of the rebellion of the Filipinos against that power. The islands are now a possession of the United States, and, feeling that the Spanish friars were a danger to the civil government, the Executive determined to get rid of them. The objection of the authorities to the presence of the monks was "their nationality, their corruption, their immorality," all tending to keep up the chronic state of unrest in the islands, and generally their hostility to the interests of the new government—the very reasons which caused the government of Henry VIII. to break up the monasteries in England. The Vatican was approached, and the pope was requested to order their withdrawal. An indemnity of 10,000,000 dollars (upwards of £2,000,000 sterling) was offered in return for the confiscation of the property of the monks. The pope at first demurred,

fluence over the ignorant multitude, and as of all parties in the kingdom they were the most opposed—violently opposed—to the recent ecclesiastical changes, it was deemed by him and his principal adviser (Thomas Cromwell, for years the friend and counsellor of Cardinal Wolsey!) expedient to suppress them. There was another reason—a moral one, as we have seen. Although several of the convents were fairly well conducted, and no great fault could be found with them, yet the most of them "had long been notorious scenes of luxurious indolence, scandalous immoralities, gross ignorance, and feigned miracles."* So notorious, indeed, had the lives led by the monks and friars in these institutions become, that, as stated above, a demand was made even by the advocates of the system for this reform before King Henry interfered. But those interested

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but, having been given to understand that go they must whether he would or not, a compromise was arrived at, whereby it was agreed that the removal of the monks should take place gradually, that their property should be valued on the spot and adequately paid for, and that members of the same Orders from America should be freely allowed entrance to the Philippines. From this it will be seen how careful the pope is of the material interests of these "undesirables," and how indifferent he is to the welfare of the people. But what will become of these friars when once they have left the Philippines? They will probably go to the United States, or to Spain, with plenty of gold in their hands, and carry on the same ignoble game there, or at least so far as they are permitted; and the monks taking their places in the islands will become as they were in course of time. It is merely a case of the "flight of the gods" from one country into another, an event of frequent occurrence in the Papal Church, and all history testifies that the same results follow.

Upwards of three hundred years ago, expelled from Britain, the Jesuits, monks, friars, and nuns fled to the Continent. Expelled from the Continent they are now returning to Britain, and, as of old, finding it "a very garden of delights." And, as usual, it is the Catholics themselves who are the first to find fault. The Rev. Richard O'Halloran, "the Roman Catholic Rector of Easling," in a letter

* MILNER, *History of England*, p. 412.

in maintaining the abuses successfully resisted all such attempts till too late, with the result we have seen.

CATHOLICS SECURED THE ESTATES.

It is to be observed that the parties who despoiled the Church of its estates were Papists. There were first the three popes: Leo X., Clement VII., and Paul III.; second, Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell; and third, Henry VIII. Wolsey, Cromwell, and Henry put the bulls of the popes into practice; they were the principal actors, and they were all bred and reared in the Papal Church, and continued Roman Catholics to the end. This statement may be questioned as regards Cromwell; but if not a Catholic, he was, as was Leo X., an infidel, for a Protestant he was not. While it is true that six new bishoprics were erected and endowed out of the lands, it is also true that a considerable part of the confiscated property, and also the teinds or tithes, was sold at easy prices to the Catholic nobles and gentry of England. This was done, on the advice of Thomas Cromwell, as an act of policy, to secure their adhesion to the recent ecclesiastical changes, but

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sent by him to Cardinal Rampolla, secretary of state at the Vatican, dated June 20, 1900, on the position taken up by the revolted Catholic secular priests in England, says:—"It is of importance that his Holiness should not be kept in ignorance of the state of religion in England. The secular clergy are unjustly treated. Notwithstanding Popa Leo XIII.'s constitution, 'Romanos Pontifices,' the religious orders are spreading all over our large cities, taking possession of all the *rich* and important neighbourhoods and missions, leading the lives of seculars, and *not in keeping with their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.* They are superseding the parochial priests, causing scandals and divisions between priests and people, driving souls out of the Catholic Church, and preventing others from entering the fold. The Vatican is informed of the few conversions from Anglicanism, but it is not told of the thousands of the faithful that are lost each year to the Church in consequence of these scandals in the ecclesiastical government."

against the expressed wish of Cranmer and Latimer, who desired that the entire proceeds be devoted to education and to sustain the poor. This way of getting cheap estates set the Scotch noblemen's teeth on edge, and accounts for much that followed in the North. It had the same effect in Ireland, as we shall see presently. Besides this, vast tracts of land were parcelled out and thrown open to the competition of the yeomen and peasantry. By this means thousands of families were rooted to the soil, and independent proprietors established all over the country. So great were the released estates, that the parcelled out lots were not all taken up in Queen Elizabeth's day, for we find that during her reign a statute was passed making it illegal for any one to build a house "unless he laid four acres of land thereto!" Grand days those for the men of "three acres and a cow!" The breaking up of these vast territories of the monks and nuns—latterly 50,000 useless, worthless folk—however grievous to many poor sinners for the time being, tended to the common weal, and resulted in great good to the kingdom by laying the foundation of the English yeomanry.

THE POPE ABSOLVES THE PLUNDERERS.

There is another important matter, which should not be overlooked. When Queen Mary of England and her Parliament restored the Roman Catholic system, they in succession repealed the Acts of Henry VIII. which abrogated the power of the pope, and those of Edward VI. which had suppressed Romanism. By doing so, the queen and her parliament restored the supremacy of the Pope of Rome; but the Church estates were left in the hands of the "unredeemed villains" and sacrilegious "plunderers" of the Reformation. And the reason was that the Lords of Parliament, subservient as they were in other matters, would not grant the pope anything until he confirmed the

titles to the monastic lands granted to or purchased by them or their predecessors under Henry's confiscations. Nor would the Commons. Instead, they passed an Act which provided that "all holders of Church property should keep it, and that any person who should attempt to molest or disturb them therein should be deemed guilty of præmunire and be punished accordingly." This placed the pope in an awkward predicament, but he cut the knot by striking a bargain with the English parliament,—a bargain which, by a special bull to enable him to act, Cardinal Pole, as legate, in his master's name, ratified, and by which he was enabled to grant the "plunderers" a dispensation from their iniquities, with plenary absolution, in return for their acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy. This was a general dispensation, but it did not satisfy the parliament. Its members insisted on having a special bull to meet their particular case, which was granted. Even this special bull did not satisfy Lord Petre, the queen's secretary. He asked and obtained from the pontiff, in 1555, a special bull of dispensation for himself, confirming his title to his estates, and was so particular that he got his lands specially designated by name in the bull. So that the sacrilegious Catholic "plunderers" and "unredeemed villains," in holding to their Church estates, had not only the direct sanction, but the dispensation and absolution of Pope Paul IV. himself.

THE CONVENT LANDS OF IRELAND.

CATHOLICS CONFISCATE THE ESTATES.

We hear a great deal about the loss of the Church estates in Ireland. Something of the kind did occur, but, as usual, Papists only tell one side of the story. The confiscation

of Church property took place in 1541, when the island was in full revolt against England, six years before the establishment of the Reformation in England, and eighteen years before the Scottish Reformation. The revolt was wholly in the interests of Rome. The loyalty of the Irish leaders in the rebellion to the pope is as indisputable as was their devotion to the Roman religion. Yet they did not scruple to share the spoiling of the convents. An Irish Parliament, held by St. Leger, assembled at Dublin in the year above mentioned. Many of the leaders in the revolt against England were present, namely, O'Neil, O'Brien, O'Donnell, Desmond, Macwilliam, and others. They took an active part in its deliberations. It was this Catholic parliament which passed the Act confiscating all the property belonging to the religious establishments in Ireland! No sooner was the Act passed than the above nobles seized upon the property, and divided the spoil among themselves. To shut the mouths and stop the taunts, or worse, of those minor gentry who had assisted in the rebellion, the nobles parted with some of the lands at merely nominal prices. Then a strange thing happened; but perhaps it was not so strange after all. In order to make sure of their newly-acquired possessions, and to enable them to acquire a recognised title to their estates, they made friends with Henry VIII. But a short time before they had sworn to exterminate the English; now they actually went the length of acknowledging Henry's title as Governor or King of Ireland, and consented to submit to his rule. Thus the Church lands of Ireland were confiscated and seized by the Catholics themselves; and that was the case not only there, but also in England and Scotland.

ADDENDUM.

Our remarks on the restoration of Haddington Abbey were written before the name of the gentleman—Mr. John Christie of Cowden and Glenfarg—offering to do so was made public. Mr. Christie proposed to restore the tower, the transepts, and the choir ; but he died before any agreement with the heritors and the government was arrived at. He passed away on August 21, 1902. Although nothing appears in his will regarding the restoration of the church, provision, we understand, has otherwise been made for carrying out the work, if what Mr. Eustace Balfour, C.E., calls an act of "vandalism" be permitted.

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